

MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA

PART I

BY

S. R. SHARMA, M. A.



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KARNATAK PUBLISHING HOUSE

BOMBAY



From the entrance of the Garden and
about the same time.

AKKLE AND TWO OTHERS.

MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA

A systematic study including source material

BY

S. R. SHARMA, M. A.

Second Edition



KARNATAK PUBLISHING HOUSE

1965

<i>First Edition</i>	1938
<i>Revised "</i>	1948
<i>Reprint</i>	1954

و این موجب رضائی خداست
 که ندانم که کم شد تو را راست

*"Truth is the means of pleasing God
 I never saw any man lost on the right road."*

—(EXCERPTED ON APRIL 1954)

*To know anything thoroughly
 nothing available must be excluded*

—(ON QIAN IN LATER)

PREFACE

The first edition of this book was published in 1934. Though copies of it have not been in the market for more than an year now, I regret I could not meet the need earlier owing to other preoccupations. In the present edition references to other literature on various topics dealt with in the book have been brought up to date and improvements short of rewriting the text have been effected. It is therefore hoped that readers will find in this an even more helpful guide to the study of Muslim history than in its predecessor. Since literature on the subject is already very vast, as well as fast growing, it may not be out of place to mention here the various sources of the present work. I cannot do this better than by summarising the observations of some of those who were kind enough to assess the first edition of the book.

Prof. H. H. Munro, S. J., while commending it observed, "This text-book is a real source of high and systematic knowledge. The intelligent use of this text-book will introduce the student to the genuine historical method". Rao Bahadur G. S. Srinivas found "the principal merit" of the work to be "the skilful piecing together of all available matter and weaving it into a connected account." C. S. S. in the *Journal of Indian History*, wrote, "The effort to make the student acquainted with the sources is perhaps the most distinct contribution of this book." While the reviewer in the *Indian Culture* credited me with having treated my subject with "an ingrained sympathy" and with having tapped "practically all the historical sources available to him in English." I cannot claim to have done anything more.

As the book is the outcome of a real need felt by the author while teaching the subject in his school so pains to build down the considerable mass of material for the benefit of the more earnest students. At the same time care has been taken to represent all points of view on controversial topics, helping the reader to draw his own conclusions. In the words of Sir Oliver Lodge, I have stood on the motto "to know anything thoroughly nothing is too small."

his great ~~is~~ ^{is} included } - with what result, it is for my (requesting) critics to judge.

My indebtedness to authors and works cited throughout the book is greater than I can specifically recount in this short Preface. The detailed references in the footnotes are intended to be guides to deeper study as well as acknowledgments of my sources.

Williams College }
January 1922 }

S. R. MERRILL

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INTRODUCTION

"The study has no object, no influence in forming a nation's mind and a nation's character as a critical and careful study of its past history. And it is by such study alone that an unconscious and superstitious worship of the past is replaced by a legitimate and steady admiration."

—R. C. Dutt

The period of nearly two and half centuries that forms the subject of this study is one of the most brilliant epochs in Indian History. In 1526, Zahir-ud din, Muhammad Bâbur, by his victory over Ibrahim Lodi in the first battle of Panipat, ushered in a new era in India, and a new dynasty on the throne of Delhi, as Henry VII had done in England after his triumph on the field of Bosworth only forty years earlier (1485). The Age of the Moghuls in India was memorable in many ways as of the Tudors in England. The first task of the two adventurers, Henry in England and Bâbur in India, was not dissimilar: both had to make themselves secure on their newly won thrones, both had to contend against champions, either legitimate or pretensions, of the disestablished powers, both, in brief, aimed at the establishment of a strong but benevolent monarchy, each in a country newly made his own. If Henry Tudor sought to win the hearts of his subjects and bridge the gulf between two principal factions within England by means of his marriage with Elizabeth of York, Tacine did a monarch of the Moghul dynasty, Akbar, marry a Rajput princess to bring about rapprochement between Hindus and Muslims in India. For a king who sought to make himself absolute in every way in England, it was felt necessary that he should be supreme over Church and State, and hence Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy were passed. Akbar aimed at the same object, but did not seek to impose his royal will with the blood-stained hand of persecution. 'For as God rules by one hand,' he thought, "it was a bad thing to have the members divided among themselves and at variance one with the other. We ought, therefore, to bring them all into one, but in such a fashion that they should be one and all, with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any one religion, while gaining whatever is better in another. In that way honour would be rendered to God, peace would be given to the

people, and security to the Empire.¹

These parallels, striking as they are, may not be pressed too closely. In the first place, there was an essential difference in detail in the two peoples and countries. Generally, the comparison of contrast is not always between two individuals and merely contemporaneous moments, but primarily between the general circumstances and achievements of two dynasties and countries. Yet few are told of Akbar and Elizabeth, or even of Jahangir and James I, without being strongly reminded of certain resemblances or dissimilarities. The death of Elizabeth (1603) in England and Akbar (1605) in India, placed on their respective thrones successors who had much in common in their personal composition; both James and Jahangir were rulers for the mature of opposite elements in their character. The contemporary of "the wisest fool in Christendom," who was "labouring over trifles and a trifle where serious labour was required" as thus described by V. A. Smith: Jahangir "was a thinker, a compound of tenderness and cruelty, justice and caprice, refinement and brutality, good sense and delusions."² The generation after the death of each of them witnessed a civil war in both countries; though in one it was merely a fratricidal struggle for the throne, and in another a war of liberation against the tyranny of the crown. In both countries there was no longer benevolence left about the monarchy, but only despotism. The puritanical Aurangzeb and the puritanical Cromwell, despite essential differences, had many a even that is common that evoked natural revulsion and reaction in each case. The later Shasta, like the later Meghalas, were but inglorious representations of their respective houses. Here the parallels diverge, perhaps to meet again in our present struggle for political liberation, which is but an enlarged edition of England's own example copied in India with local adaptations.

In 1688, when by her Glorious Revolution, England was on the way road to complete political emancipation, Aurangzeb was busy digging his own grave in the Deccan; and from the death of Aurangzeb (1707) to the extinction of the Empire was not a far cry. "As water imperial corpse," writes Lane-Poole, "preserved for ages in its dried relation, mummied and mummied and still majestic, yet still to dust at the same breath of heaven, so fell the Empire of the

1. Smith, cited by V. A. Smith in *Akbar: the Great Mogul* pp. 20-12.

2. Smith, *The Golden History of India*, p. 387.

Mughal when the great name that guarded it was no more."¹ In 1707 also England and Scotland came close to each other, and produced two-thirds of the Union Jack (the symbol of Britain's imperial expansion) by a combination of the white flag of St. Andrew and the red cross of St. George. But while England was thus incorporating the Mughal Empire was fast disintegrating. When in 1739 Nader Shah took away the Peacock Throne of Shah Jahan from Delhi, he deploiled, not merely the imperial capital of its wealth but also the imperial crown of its prestige. In 1761, after the third battle of Panipat, an Ephraïm observes, "The history of the Mughal Empire closes of itself: its territory is broken into separate states, the capital is deserted; the claimant to the name of Emperor is an exile and a dependent; while a new race of conquerors has already commenced its career, which may again unite the Empire under better auspices than before."²

Though the Mughal Emperors continued to bear the name and wear the crown for long after their virtual extinction, their phantom figures were only the lingering shadows of a glory that was already past. A hundred years after the third battle of Panipat, the last of the house of Durrani and Afshar died in exile in Rangoon, in 1843, at the age of eighty-seven, having been arrested in 1837 by Lieutenant Haddon of the Intelligence Department, tried and convicted like an ordinary felon in January 1838, and sent to Calcutta and thence to Rangoon. Such was the fate of Bahadur Shah "the great emperor." Only 283 years earlier, in the last year of Akbar's life, the first English ambassador, John Mildenhall, had come to the Court of the Great Mughal as a mere suppliant with flickering hopes of success; in 1585, only eighty years after the death of Akbar, the English under direction of Sir Josiah Child, "the masterful chairman or governor of the Company, who was ambitious (and) aimed at laying 'the foundations of a large, well-grounded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come'... persuaded King James II to sanction the dispatch of ten or twelve ships of war with instructions to seize and fortify Chittagong. The expedition, rashly planned and unfortunate in execution, was an utter failure. Subsequently, in 1665, the English found themselves obliged to abandon

1. Lane-Poole, *Mughal India*, p. 411.

2. Ephraïm, *History of India*, p. 752.

Empire altogether."¹ But time brought about a sudden transformation in the situation, the details of which need not be traced here. The year of the third battle of Panipat also saw the final decline of the French in India, while the English had already become masters of Bengal. As Smith puts it, "The leaders who died in service in Panipat in June 1756 were the masters of a rich kingdom exactly twelve months later." He also observes, "The collapse of the Empire came with a suddenness which at first sight may seem surprising. But the student who has acquired even a moderately sound knowledge of the history will be surprised that the Empire lasted so long rather than because it collapsed suddenly."²

The causes of the decline and fall of the Mughal Empire will be described and discussed in their proper place in the body of this work. How it may be only pointed out that, from the character and strength of the whole structure depended almost entirely upon the genius of the Emperor himself, the determinants of the Empire went hand in hand with the corruption of the Emperor's personal character and capacity. The Empire was strong and flourishing when its personality at its centre possessed strength and genius; it became weak and oppressive when that central figure itself fell a prey to all kinds of vicious influences. A character study of the Emperors themselves must therefore find an important place in the scheme of our work, their character was the epitome of the character of the Empire at every stage. But in judging them, we should never forget that they were essentially the products of their age and as R. C. Dutt says, "We should never make the mistake of comparing the XVI and XVII centuries with the XIX and XX centuries, either in Europe or in India; and we must never forget that administration was rude and corrupt, and administration was arbitrary and oppressive all over the world in the sixteen days. But making allowance for this, we may look back on Mughal rule in India with some reason for justification."³

Nevertheless, writers are not men who have judged even Akbar, the greatest of the Mughals, by absolute rather than contemporary standards, and tripped into making very disparaging remarks both about the subject of their criticism and the country to which he belonged. A true historical spirit ought to view in their proper ha-

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 448.

2. Ibid.

Seventeen Minutes' Report



Photo by Mr. F. A. Anderson

"THE DREAM IN MARCH"

racial perspective before judging men and nations too severely. In trying to represent the past of a country sympathetic insight into the peculiar genius and traditions of the people is an indispensable virtue (the lack of which often results in the distortion of the true aspect of facts, if not of the facts themselves). It will not do to judge the builders of the Taj and Fateh-pur Sikri by modern standards and declare them heinous monuments of imperialistic and capitalistic exploitation of the masses. It will not do to denounce Akbar on the authority of either Havelock or the Jesuits alone, any more than it is permissible to idealise him on the sole authority of Abul Fazl. An impartial historian ought to weigh and consider all available sources of information, and when they seem to speak with a dubious voice reserve judgment rather than take sides and condemn too hastily.

Looking at the Grand Moghals from such a standpoint, one can easily agree with E. M. Edwards, and assert, "Yet they were great men, despite their failings and faults, and when one turns from the old catalogue of their defects to consider the unique grandeur of Fatima Sultān, the supreme beauty of the Taj Mahal and the Mohl Mayad, the magnificence of the Agra and Delhi palaces, and the rare wealth of pictorial and calligraphic art, which owed its splendour to their guidance and expenditure, one feels inclined to re-echo the words of the lady Maréchale of France concerning a peasant member of the old noblesse of the eighteenth century: 'Depend upon it, Sir, God thinks twice before damning a man of that quality!' The facts which they achieved in their own age, and which will endure, was the natural corollary of their marked intellectuality."¹

The virtues as well as the vices of the Grand Moghals in India were not a popular product of the people; their spiritual qualities were to be found in France, Prussia, and Russia, to mention only their most outstanding contemporaries. Louis XIV lived between 1643-1715; Frederick William I from 1713-40; Frederick the Great 1740-86; and Peter the Great from 1682-1725. They were all cast in the same mould, and need not be individually studied. "Louis XIV" wrote Mr. H. G. Wells, "set a pattern for all the kings of Europe. His prevailing occupation was splendour. His great palace at Versailles was the envy and admiration of the world. He provided a universal imitation. Every king and princelet in Europe was

1 Edwards and Gernet: *Mughal Rule in India*, p. 303.

building his own Versailles as much beyond his means as his subjects and crafts world parent. Everywhere the nobility rebuilt or renewed of their châteaux to the new pattern. A great industry of beautiful and elaborate fabrics and furnishings developed. The tapestries, art-flourished everywhere, sculptures in alabaster, faience, gilt wood work, metal work, stamped leather, much more, magnificent painting, beautiful printing and bookbinding, fine cookery, fine vitrage.

"Amidst the masses and fine furniture went a strange race of 'performers' in vast powdered wigs, silk and lace, jeweled upon high red heels, supported by massive oases; and still more wonderful 'ladies,' under towers of powdered hair and wearing vast expansions of silk and satin, sustained on wire. Through it all passed the great Louis, the sun of his world, unaware of the strange and sulky and bitter faces that watched him from these lower darknesses to which his sunshine did not penetrate.

"It was a part—and an excellent part—of the pose of the Grand Monarchy to patronize literature and the sciences. Louis XIV devoted his court with poets, playwrights, philosophers and scientists etc."

There was another side to the picture. "Great numbers of his most sober and valuable subjects were driven abroad by his religious persecutions, taking arts and industries with them. . . . Under his rule was carried out the 'dragonnades,' a peculiarly malignant and official form of persecution. Rough soldiers were quartered in the houses of the Protestants, and were free to disorder the life of their hosts and insult their woman-kind as they thought fit. Men yielded to that sort of pressure who would not have yielded to cash and fire."

Such was the nature of the Grand Monarchy in the heyday of its power in France. In the period of its decline, it was not unlike the degraded vicissitudes of the Mughals. Louis XIV died eight years after the death of Aurangzeb, and was succeeded by his grandson Louis XV, "an incompetent mirror of his predecessor's magnificence. He posed as a King, but his ruling passion was that constant obsession of our kind, the pursuit of women, tempered by a superstitious fear of hell. How such women as the Duchess of Chateaufort, Madame de Pompadour, and Madame du Barry dominated the pleasures of the King, and how wars and alliances were made, provinces devastated, thousands of people killed, because of the wishes and whims

of these crimes, and how all the public life of France and Europe was tainted with stigma and prostitution and imposture because of them: the reader must learn from the examples of the past."¹

Students of Mughal history would do well to run over these contemporary standards in Europe when they read of the sultan's honour, the autocracy, and the corruption of the Grand Monarchy in India. Then they will read 'not to understand and admire, nor to believe and take for granted, but to weigh and consider.' (Bacon).

¹ *Ibid.* *op. cit.* pp. 10-11.

1. H. G. Wells, *The Outline of World History*, pp. 22-23, (Cambridge, Popular Ed. 1909).

CHAPTER I

INDIA AS BARBER FOUND HER

"It is a remarkably fine country; it is quite a different world compared with our countries."

So wrote Hübner in his *Tour of Hindostan*, a work which Rippon states characterises as "almost the only piece of real history in Asia."¹ It is the work, besides, of "a man of genius and observation, and presents his countrymen and contemporaries in their appearance, manners, pursuits, and actions, as clearly as in a mirror." In Hübner the figures, dress, tastes and habits of each individual introduced are described with such consistency and reality that we seem to live among them, and to know their persons as well as we do their characters. His descriptions of the countries he visited, their scenery, climate, productions, and works of art and industry, are more full and accurate than will, perhaps, be found in equal space in any modern traveller, and considering the circumstances in which they were compiled, are truly surprising.²

Such as it is it is strange that no historian of Mughal India has thought fit to commence his description of the country, in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, with the live pictures given by the founder of the dynasty in his *Memoirs*.

"Hindustan," writes Hübner, "is situated in the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd climates. No part of it is in the 4th. It is a remarkably fine country; it is quite a different world, compared with our countries. Its hills and rivers, its towns and plains, its animals and plants, its inhabitants and their language, its wind³ and rains, are all of a different nature. You have no sooner passed the river Ganges than the country, the trees, the stones, the wandering tribes, the manners and customs of the people are entirely those of Hindustan."

His first experience of this strange land, however, was not unlike that of any other stranger. He thought, 'The country and towns of Hindustan are extremely ugly. All its towns and lands have a uni-

¹ *Epistémoté*, op. cit., p. cja.

lowers look like gardens have no water, the greater part of it is a level plain. The banks of its rivers and streams, in consequence of the melting of the forests that decayed during the rainy season, are worn deep into the channel, which makes it generally difficult and troublesome to cross them. In many places the plain is covered by a heavy brush-wood to such a degree that the people of the peninsula, relying on these forests, take shelter in them, and trusting to their insensate vegetation, often continue in a state of revolt, refusing to pay their taxes.

In Hindustan the population and decay, or total destruction of villages, nay, of cities, is almost instantaneous. Large cities that have been inhabited for a series of years (i.e. on an alarm, the inhabitants take to flight), in a single day, or a day and a half, are completely abandoned, that you can scarcely discover a trace or mark of population.

The climate during the rains is very pleasant. On some days it rains ten, fifteen, and even twenty times. During the rainy season inundations come pouring down all at once and flood rivers, even in places where, at other times, there is no water. While the rains continue on the ground, the air is singularly delightful, as so much that nothing can surpass its soft and agreeable temperature.

Its defect is that the air is rather moist and damp. During the rainy season you cannot shoot, even with the bow of our country, and it becomes quite useless; the coats of mail, boots, clothes, and furniture, all feel the bad effect of the moisture. The houses, too, suffer from not being substantially built.

There is pleasant enough weather in the winter and summer, as well as in the rainy season, but then the north wind always blows, and there is an excessive quantity of earth and dust flying about. When the rains are at hand, this wind blows five or six times with excessive violence, and such a quantity of dust flies about that you cannot see one another. They call this an *loo*.

It grows warm during Fatah and Grawia, but not so warm as to become intolerable. The heat cannot be compared to the heat of Betch and Kandahar. It is not above half so warm as in these Places.

Nevertheless, 'The chief excellence of Hindustan is that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver. . . . Another excellence of Hindustan is that the workmen of every profession and trade

not inexhaustible, and without end. For any work of any employment there is always a well ready, to whom the same employers and trade have descended from father to son for ages.¹

The economic condition was certainly such as to tempt an adventurer like Babur. *Tuzuk-i-Babur*, a work of the reign of Jahangir, contains a description of the prosperity of India at the time of Babur's invasion. "One of the most extraordinary phenomena of Salim's Hindustan's time," it says, "was that cloth, clothes, and every kind of merchandise were cheaper than they had ever been known to be in any other reign, except perhaps in the time of Salim's father Akbar al-din Jahangir, but even that is doubtful Ten mace of coin could be purchased for one *halka*; five *dir* clarified butter, and ten yards of cloth, could be purchased for the same coin. Everything else was in the same abundance; the reason of all which was that rain fell in the exact quantity which was needed, and the crops were consequently abundant, and produce increased ten-fold beyond the usual proportion. A respectable man, with a family dependent on him, might obtain wages at the rate of five *tanke* a month. A horseman received from twenty to thirty (*tanke*) as his monthly pay. If a traveller wished to proceed from Delhi to Agra, one *halka* would with the greatest ease, suffice for the expenses of himself, his horse, and escort."²

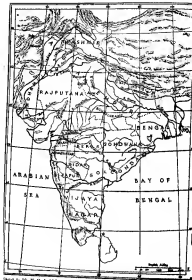
Allowance being made for overstatement, this should enable us to visualize the comparative affluence of the period. An account of the political condition of the country will complete the description of India as Babur found her in 1519 A.D.

"The capital of Hindustan," writes Babur, "is Delhi. From the time of Salim Shahab-ud din Ghori to the end of Salim Firuz Shah's time, the greater part of Hindustan was in the possession of the Emperors of Delhi. At the period when I conquered that country five Mussalman kings and two Pagans attached royal authority. Although there were many small and unconsiderable *Raja* and *Rajp* in the hills and woody country, yet those were the chief and the only ones of importance."³

1. E. & D., *The History of India as told by Its own Historians*, IV: pp. 322-23.

2. E. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 322.



Drawn by Mr. F. H. Anderson

INDIA AS BASED UPON THE (18th A. D.)

A.—MUSALMAN KINGDS

1. *Delli*.—"One of these powers was the Afghans, whose government included the capital, and extended from Babeluk to Bihur . . . Sultan Bahadur Lodi Afghani, and his son Sultan Sikander . . . ruled the throne of Delli, as well as that of Jaunpur, and reduced both kingdoms under one government."

2. *Gujerat*. "The second prince was Sultan Muhammed Nisabpur in Gujerat. He had departed this life a few days before Sultan Ibrahim's defeat (at Pindwat, 1535). He was a prince well-skilled in learning, and fond of reading the *Asna* (or traditions). . . He was constantly employed in writing the Kurta. They call this race Turu. Their ancestors were cup-bearers to the Sultan Feroz that has been mentioned, and his family. After the death of Feroz they took possession of the throne of Gujerat."

3. *Asiawada*.—"The third kingdom is that of the Solaimanis in the Dekhin, but at the present time the Souldans of the Dekhin have no authority or power left. All the different districts of their kingdom have been seized by their most powerful nobles, and when the prince needs anything, he is obliged to ask it of his own *Amirs*."

4. *Mildel*.—"The fourth king was Sultan Mahmud, who reigned in the country of Mildel, which they likewise call Mildel. This dynasty was the Khilji. Sadr Sarikh, a Pagan, had defeated them and occupied a number of their provinces. This dynasty also had become weak."

5. *Bengal*. "The fifth prince was Nuruz Shah, in the kingdom of Bengal. His father had been king of Bengal, and was a *sheik* of the name of Sultan Abu-d-din. He had obtained this throne by hereditary succession. It is a singular custom in Bengal (however) that there is little of hereditary descent in succession to the sovereignty . . . whoever kills the king and succeeds in placing himself on that throne, is immediately acknowledged as king; . . . the people of Bengal say, "We are faithful to the throne: whoever sits the throne we are obedient and true to it." As for instance, before the accession of Nuruz Shah's father, an Abyssinian (Muzaffar Shah Habib), having killed the reigning king, mounted the throne, and governed the kingdom for some time (three years). Sultan Abu-d-din killed the Abyssinian, ascended the throne, and was

acknowledged as king. After Sultan Alauddin's death, the king soon devolved by succession to his son, who now reigned.¹

The five kings who have been mentioned, were Bihār, the great powers, and are all Musalmans, and possessed of formidable armies.

B—HINDU KINGS

1. *Vijayanagar*.—The most powerful of the Hindu princes in point of territory and army, in the *Rājā* of Vijayanagar.

2. *Misôr*.—Another is *Rājā* Saria, who has obtained his present high position, only in these later times, by his own valour and his sword. His original principality was Chitor. During the confusion that prevailed among the princes of the kingdom of Mirdā, he seized a number of provinces which had depended on Mirdā, such as Rānpūr (Rāmanthor), Srāngpūr, Bārdān, and Chāndā.

There were a number of other *Rājā* and *Rājās* on the borders and within the territory of Hindustān, many of whom, on account of their remoteness, or the difficulty of access into their country have never submitted to the Musalmān Kings.

Such, in brief, is the description of India that we are able to gather from the writings of Bihār himself. Very little is necessary to be added to make the situation, at the time of his invasion, more clear.

First may be pointed out the campaign by Bihār of the kingdom of Khāndesh, Orissā, Gujāt and Kāthiāw. With the former two Bihār had nothing to do. Khāndesh enjoyed a quiet prosperity under its *Shāhīd* (Musalmān) ruler; and Orissā (Hindu) was engaged in constant warfare with Bengal in the north and Vijayanagar in the south. Gujāt was ruled by the *Somvā* Jains until 1320. Then Shāh Bīz Arghūn, being driven away by Bihār from Kāthiāw, took possession of it. His son Shāh Humān was defeated by

1. Nāzār al-Dīn Husayn said was 'a prince of gentle disposition and strong natural abilities, for he not only refrained from slaying, mauling, or imprisoning his enemies, but divided the spoils which his father had made for them.' He married a daughter of Balban Lodi, and delivered many an Afghan chief who fled from Delhi, after the battle of Panipat, and bestowed rich upon them. His son Qutb Shāh one of his nobles, in 1326, to make a demonstration against Bihār, further details of which will be found in Ch. IV, below—p. 42.

2. *E. A. D.* op. cit., pp. 329-33.

Bihar in 1527. Kishore was a prey to internal factions; its nobles set up and pulled down puppet princes as it suited their interests. Muhammad Shah ruled Kishore, from 1489 to 1526, with the help of his minister Malik Kip Chak. In the latter year the minister overthrew his master, to be himself overthrown in turn, within nine months, by rivals who obtained help from Bihar's officers. Later, however, the last-named nobles made common cause against their enemy and forced the Mughals to retire into the Panjab.

Secondly, even if the rulers and kingdoms mentioned by Babur it is worth while to add a little more information. Among the contemporary rulers of India Babur has chosen to make special mention of the Raja of 'Bijayanagar' and 'Rani Senka.' He characterises the former as 'the most powerful of the Pagana princes in point of territory and army' but nevertheless, he was too distant from Bihar for further notice. The latter had 'attained his present high eminence... by his own valour and his sword.' This valour and sword, however, were soon tried against Bihar himself and found wanting. Besides delivering the Rani at Kolman (March, 1527), 'In the year 934 (A.H.), by the divine favour in the space of a few hours, I took by storm Calicut, which was commanded by Muziris Rani Chetana Rani, one of the highest and most distinguished of Rani Senka's officers, put all the Pagans to the sword, and from the mansion of hostility which it had long been, converted it into the mansion of the Faith, as will be hereafter more fully detailed.'¹

1. The Empire of Vijayanagar comprised practically the whole of the present Madras Presidency with Mysore and all other States in the peninsula. When Krishna Deva Raya fought against Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bidar, for the possession of the Kingdom of Golkonda, on 16th May 1565, his army consisted of 300,000 infantry, 25,000 cavalry, and 500 war-elephants, besides an uncounted host of camp-followers, etc. Domingo Paes, the Portuguese visitor to Krishna Raya's capital, considered Vijayanagar 'the best provided city in the world; and the King himself "by rank a greater Lord than any by reason of what he possesses in arms, and territories: He is the most feared and perfect King that could possibly be, devoid of dissimulation and very cruel; he is one that seeks to honour foreigner and restores them kindly, asking about all their affairs, whatever their condition may be. He is a greater ruler and a man of much justice; gallant and perfect in all things, but addicted to murder his of rage" (Smith, op. cit., 304-11.)

2. E. A. D. op. cit., p. 24.

Ellor's unenviable title as Krishna Deva Raya of Vijayanagar (1509-29) was well deserved. Though the great prince of South India did not come into direct contact with the Mughal invader, he is worthy of consideration because of his relations with the Bahmanis who are mentioned by Ellor.

'But at the present time the Sultans of the Deccan,' he truly observed, 'have no authority or power left. All the different districts of their kingdoms have been seized by their most powerful nobles; and when the prince needs anything he is obliged to ask it of his own *Amirs*.' The disruption of the Bahmanis was among other reasons, due to the pressure of Vijayanagar, which, in its turn, was to fall a prey to Muslim hostility within half a century (1565) of the extinction of Bahmani as a single independent kingdom.

The last of the independent Bahmanis was Mahomed Shah (1482-1518), under whom the kingdom split up. Bijapur was the first to set up the Adil Shahi (1490); next came the Imad Shahi of Berar (1490). After the death of Mahomed Shah (1518), four puppet princes were set up successively at Kulkarni, the Bahmani capital, by Amir Basid the Minister. First contact with Goa, Basid finally established the independent Basid Shahi of Berar in 1526, the year of Ellor's victory over Basid's Lord.

Ferdinand describes the situation well: 'In the year 925 H (1519 A.D.) the Emperor Babur conquered Delhi, upon which Ismail Adil Shah, Barid Nizam Shah, Khatir Shah (who was to found the Khatir Shahi of Golkonda in 1525) next accompanied to his court. Kalver-ulah (last of the Bahmanis) also went one of his requests, in disguise, with a petition to the Emperor, setting forth, that his kingdom had been usurped, and his person confined by rebellious servants; offering, if the Emperor of Delhi would relieve him from his distressed situation, to cede to him, Daulatabad and the province of Berar. Babur, not being yet confirmed in his conquests, the kings of Malwa and Gwalior being still unsubdued, paid no attention to the request, but the circumstance coming to the knowledge of Amir Basid, he treated the king with greater respect, who, making his escape to his uncle Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur was received by him honourably in hopes of using his name to his own advantage; but the king, dissatisfied with his reception, retired to Barid Nizam Shah of Akrodtungar. Kalver-

glide landed at Ahmednagar till his death, and with him ended the dynasty of Bahmanis.¹

The Deccan was then pre-occupied at the time of Babur's invasion, being distracted and divided on the one hand by the protracted dual between Vijayanagar and Bahmanid, and on the other by the intersecting struggles between the various Musliman princes and factions. (Sani vs. Sani, Deccan vs. Foreigners—Arab Turk, Persian, Maghal and Afghani)—all contending their share to subvert and ravage the country by intrigue, fight, and massacre.²

The Portuguese were a new element in South Indian politics Vasco de Gama opened a new era, as well as a new problem, for India by reaching Calcut in 1497. His countrymen soon became a nuisance to the Muslim pilgrims bound for Jeddah; they also became a menace to the Musliman Kingdoms bordering on the Arabian Sea. In 1510, Albuquerque, their intrepid Governor, conquered Goa, then the principal port in the Rajpoot territory. In 1520, the year in which Babur died, they assembled a large fleet at Bombay, proceeded to Daulat and captured it. "The entry of this European nautical power," indeed, "created an unsettling factor" both in the commercial and political life of India.³

North India was in no better position to offer effective resist-

ance at least to the invader. Both Mughal and Guj-
North India. rati were constantly at war with the Rajpoots under Rani Sangh and Mahal Rai. In northern India, particularly, the Rajpoots had gained considerable ascendancy. Mahmal II, the reigning prince at the time of Babur's invasion, had secured the throne against his rivals, with the help of Mahal Rai. Subsequently, jealous of the Rajpoots, he tried to get rid of them with the assistance of Mansur Shah II of Gujrat. Mahal Rai secured the aid of Rani Sangh and inflicted a defeat upon the Muslims. Mahmal was wounded and captured but divinely restored to his throne. Yet, when Mansur of Gujrat died, in 1526, Mahmal unhesitatingly supported Chhat Khat's younger son of

1. Briggs, II, pp. 324-6.

2. Rajpoot alone lost 14,000 killed in the battle of Ranthambur, 1519 May, 1520.

3. Cambridge History of India, III, p. 426. For details of Portuguese policy in India, see Smith, op. cit., pp. 350-4.

Musaffar) against his older older brother Bahadur Shah. As a penalty for his leading the wrong horse, Bahadur Shah annexed Mirat to his own kingdom in 1521.

Bahadur Shah, who was to try conclusions with Babur's son was proving formidable, supported by the Maghal invader. In 1524, his father Musaffar Shah had supplied Alam Khan, an uncle of Nicholas Lodi, with a small force and a sum of money to crown him for the throne of Delhi. But Bahadur Shah himself being disgusted with his father, sought his fortune under Ibrahim Lodi in 1526, when the latter was preparing for his fatal struggle. Hitherto Gujarat's adventures distinguished himself in the preliminary skirmishing against the Maghals, he did not permit for long, evidently he was scared away by his patron's jealousy. Then he retreated to Jaunpur, where he heard of his father's death and hastened home. There he buried himself with securing his father's throne and extending his influence in the south by dynastic marriages and political alliances with rival princes of Berar and Khilach against Babur and Ahmednagar. In 1528, he also subjected Jais Pilsa of Berar who had been driven away by Shah Beg Arghala, the captive from Babur already mentioned (p. 12 above). In 1530, he received under his protection Agha's refugees from Delhi; and lashed his agents against the Portuguese who had just taken Daula.

In Bilgachia, Rishi Banga (or Sangrām Singh) who accepted the throne of Mirat (Ghat) in 1528, controlled directly or indirectly the entire resources of Bilgachia. 'Eighty thousand horse, seven Rajas of the highest rank, 104 chieftains with 500 elephants, followed him into the field.' In his reign Mirat reached the zenith of her glory. Eighteen pitched battles he fought against the kings of Delhi and Mirat; no force could face him in Hindustan. According to Sheikh Zain, 'There was not a single ruler of the first rank in all these great countries like Delhi, Gujarat, and Mirat, who was able to make head against him. The banners of the Indian Emperor over two hundred cities unfurled to people of the Faith.'

Finally, we come to the kingdom of Delhi, India's political centre of gravity. When Ibrahim Lodi succeeded to his father's throne, Ahmad Yadgar says, 'Many nobles became aware of the

1. Cited by Rudenstam Williams, *An Empire Builders*, pp. 12-13.

king's fierce despotism and raised the standard of opposition.¹ He degraded his rule by his pride, and alarmed his chiefs by his suspicious and tyrannical temper. From these causes his reign was continually disturbed by rebellions. At the commencement of it (1577) one of his brothers, was proclaimed king at Jaspore, was subdued in the course of twelve months, and was privately executed by Ibrahim, who imprisoned his other brothers for life. A chief named Jahan Khan next rebelled, and was killed in battle. Several men of rank and governors of provinces were executed for their share in these transactions. Others were put to death on suspicion, some were evenly made away with after being imprisoned, and one was assassinated at the instigation of his government. These proceedings spread general distrust and dissension, various chiefs revolted and the whole of the eastern part of Ibrahim's dominion threw off its allegiance, and formed a separate state under Daryil Khan Lohar, who was afterwards took the title of King. Daudat Khan Lodh, Governor of the Punjab, deposed the late and so many other chiefs, revolted and called in the aid of Akbar.² So also did Bilal Sangha. The Empire of Delhi was in confusion, it had become the prey of the stranger, and the former greatness and mighty power of the Hind might serve to justify at once his hopes of seeing himself on the vacant throne of the Lodis, and his more reasonable and glorious ambition of expelling both the Afghans and Turd invaders from India, and restoring her own Hindu race of kings, and her native institutions."³

1. E. D., op. cit., V, p. 14.

2. *Ibid.*, op. cit., p. 429.

3. *India, Akbar and Hindustan*, I, p. 482.

DAVID S. PEENEEER

GENEALOGY



Note.—It will be seen from the above that Dilbar was *Agha* in descent from Timur and fourteenth from Chingiz Khan, both of the great conquerors and saviors of Asia.

2. It is also to be noted that Dilbar was a Tartar from his father's side, and a *Mongol* on his mother's side. *Tartar* is therefore a more accurate term for Dilbar's dynasty, than *Mughal*, *Mughal* or *Mogul* is the Persian and Indian form of *Mongol*.

3. Dilbar was the cognomen given to his grandson by Yulghun Khan. In *Tartar* it means 'sign'.

(For a history of Timur and Chingiz Khan and their descent prior to Dilbar, see Erdem, *A History of India under the First Two Sovereigns of the House of Taimur*, vol. I, pp. 8-76.)

AUTHORITIES

A. *Primary*: (1) Dilbar's own *Memoirs* are the principal source of information about his life and career.

"If ever there were a case," writes Lane-Poole, "when the testimony of a single historical document, unsupported by other evidence should be accepted as sufficient proof, it is the case with Dilbar's *Memoirs*. . . . No reader of this praise of autobiographers can doubt his honesty or his competence as witness and chronicler."

According to Beveridge, the *Dilbar-Nāmah*, (*Wāqia* or *Wāqia*—*Dilbar*, or *Taimur-i-Dilbar* as Dilbar's *Memoirs* have been variously called) "is one of those precious records which are for all time."

Eliot says, "Babar's *Memoirs* form one of the best and most faithful pieces of autobiography extant."

Originally written in Babar's native tongue, Turki, it was translated into Persian, notably, by Mirza Akbar-Rashti (Akbar Khan), and in 1585, by order of Akbar.¹ Its first English translation was made by Leyden and Knyfline in 1626 (2 vols. ed. King, O. U. P. 1921) and the second in 1805 by Mrs. Beveridge (2 vols. Lond. 1821). There is also a French translation by Prevot de Courville (1871).

The first part of the *Memoirs* being revised and enlarged by Babar himself, after his invasion of India, is better than the second part which has remained an uncorrected and rough diary. There are three important gaps in the *Memoirs*: the first covering the period 1519-1524, the second 1528-33; and the third 1538-39.

They are therefore to be supplemented by—

(i) *Tārīkh-i-Furūdī* of Mirza Hasrat (a cousin of Babar) who completed his chronicle within seventeen years of Babar's death. According to Erskine, "It is the production of a learned and accomplished man; and, in the later parts, of a contemporary, intimately acquainted with the men and events he describes. It would form a most valuable accompaniment to the *Commentaries* of Babar, which it illustrates in every page. The two royal volumes are worthy of each other, and do honour to their age."

It has been rendered into English by Elms and Denison Ross (1896).

(ii) *Munshiyā-Nāmah* of Babar's daughter, Gulshārah Begum, is, in the estimation of Rushbrooke Williams, "scarcely partial". Nevertheless, it contains some personal recollections of its author's father. It has been edited by Mrs. Beveridge" (R. A. S., 1903).

(iii) *Tārīkh-i-Furūdī* of Mahmūd Shāhin Furūdī also supplies the gaps in Babar's *Memoirs*. The account, says Rushbrooke Williams, "is sane, accurate, and well-balanced". For an English translation of it see Col. Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Mohammedan Power in India till the year A.D. 1612*, vol. II, pp. 1-62. Longmans (1929).

1. A beautiful MS copy of this, with Shah Jahan's autograph on the fly-leaf and many coloured pictures, is said to be in the April Gallery Library.

B. SECONDARY (i) Ekins, *A History of India under the First two Sovereigns of the House of Timur, Babur and Humayun*, vol. I, Longmans (1950).

(ii) Lane-Poole, *Babur*, *Roberts of India Series*, O. U. P. (1890).

(iii) Rostkowski-Witkowska, '*An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century*,' Longmans (1918).

(iv) Edwards, S. M., *Babur : Desires and Deeds* (Penguin, London).

Note—The Bibliographies given in this book are not exhaustive. Only such works as are considered most essential have been included. Fuller guidance is to be had in the works hands cited.

Ellis and Dowson's *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, contains valuable extracts from various original sources in translation. (8 vols. Tinsley, 1971). These must now be read along with Prof. Hirst's *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*.

CHAPTER II

NOW THE EMPIRE WAS FOUNDED

"Filled as I was by the ambition of conquest and boundless war, one or two reverses could not make me sit down doing nothing."

BABUR.

The Mughal Empire in India was founded in 1526, by Babur, who, according to all estimates, is one of the most fascinating personalities in all history. He spent the greater part of his life outside India; but though, as Lane-Poole says, his permanent place in history rests upon his Indian conquests, his earlier life (of which he has left an imperishable record in his *Memoirs*) constitutes an interest by itself not less valuable. "Given with a man," writes Flora A. Steel, "it would be sheer perversity to treat him solely in reference to the part he played in India, as this would be to deprive ourselves of no less than thirty-six years of the very best of company."

Babur's life falls into three definite periods: 1. Early adventures up to his conquest of Kabul (1494-1504); 2. Babur as King of Kabul (1504-25); and 3. Babur in India (1525-30).

I. EARLY ADVENTURES.

Bābur was born on Friday, February 14, 1483 (Ahsan-
 2. 332 *Hijra*).

A. Birth and
 Ahsan- Bābur's father Umar Sheikh, died on Monday,
 2. 332 *Hijra* June 8, 1484 (Ahsan- 4. 399 *Hijra*).

Bābur's *Almémra* begins with the sentence—'In the month of
 Rabi'ul of the year 896 (*Ahsan*), in the twelfth year of my age,
 I became ruler in the country of Farghāna.'

Timūr's empire had been divided among his own descendants,
 as well as those of Chingiz Khān. Its principal
 B. Political
 divisions— kingdoms and rulers were all mentioned as
 follows* :—

1. Tikhkent, Samark, Shāhrasbāz, were under Bābur's older
 maternal uncle, Mahmūd Khān.

2. The region between Tikhkent and Yarkand was under Bābur's
 younger maternal uncle, Ahmad Khān.

3. Samarikand and Bokhara were ruled by Bābur's oldest
 paternal uncle, Ahmad Mirā.

4. Badakshān, Hind and Kandah were ruled by Bābur's older
 paternal uncle, Mahmūd Mirā.

5. Kābul and Ghazni were ruled by Bābur's youngest paternal
 uncle, Ulugh Beg.

6. Khorezm and Herat were under Husayn Mirā, the head
 of the House of Timūr.

7. Farghāna was the kingdom of which Bābur's father, Umar
 Sheikh, was the ruler.

Yūsuf Khān, twelfth in descent from Chingiz Khān, had three
 daughters by his last wife. They were married respectively to
 Bābur's two paternal uncles, Ahmad Mirā and Mahmūd Mirā, and
 Bābur's father Umar Sheikh. Khatūn Nigār was Bābur's mother.

Both Yūsuf Khān and his wife, Ais-Daudat Begum, exercised
 considerable influence over Bābur. About the former, Bābur writes
 in his *Almémra* : 'He had the most agreeable and refined manners
 and conversation such as are very seldom to be met with in the most
 polished society', and about the latter, 'Few amongst women will
 have been my grandmother's equals for judgment and culture, she
 was very wise and far-seeing, and most affairs of mine were carried
 through by her advice.'

* See also C. H. I., IV, p. 1.

Ilkhan combined in himself the ferocity of the Mongol, 'the courage and sagacity of the Turk,' and the polished urbanity of the Persian—*which were all inherited traits.*

Farghina, with Andkha as its capital, was, as above related (Umar Shaikh's nephew). It was a fertile tract of country on the Jaxartes, 50,000 sq miles in extent (now Khokand in Russian Turkestan). But Ilkhan's father was not satisfied with this. So he quarrelled with his eldest brother, Ahmad Mikail, who had received the largest share of the paternal domains, viz., Samarkand and Bukhara.

In the midst of these quarrels, however, Umar Shaikh died of an accidental fall, while feeding his pigeons (Monday 8th June 1464). This fatal event synchronised with the invasion of Farghina by Ilkhan's paternal and maternal uncles, Ahmad and Mahmud Mikail, respectively.

Though Ilkhan was hardly twelve years of age at this time, he was saved from the critical situation by the loyalty of his subjects. He gradually recovers: 'They (i.e., his subjects) found in our soldiers and peasantry a resolution and singleness of mind such as would not let them flinch from making offering of their lives so long as there was breath and power in their bodies'.

Samarkand, the city of Turke, (then ruled by his uncle Ahmad Mikail) discussed the greatest fascination over C.-Island. The ambitious son of Umar Shaikh. It was in the west of Farghina, a city five miles in circuit, noted for its learning, and possessed of a great astronomical observatory (built by Ulugh Beg), and had celebrated colleges, baths and mosques. According to Ilkhan 'even the baker's shops (of Samarkand) are excellent and the cooks are skillful'.

In July 1466, when Ahmad Mikail died, Ilkhan set his heart upon the conquest of Samarkand. However, not until two years later could he make his first effort (July, 1468), and even then not successfully. But this attempt marked an important stage in Ilkhan's life.

Next year (1469), though only for a while, Ilkhan succeeded in his ambition. He captured Samarkand and kept it for a hundred days. Then there was rebellion in Farghina, which cost him both the kingdom: 'Thus for the sake of Farghina I had given up Samarkand and now found I had lost the one without securing the other'.

After this, Hubar became a wanderer for two years. As an

11. 5 vols. (n.p.).

12. He never spent two winters of the Alatau in the same place; or in the words of Panshin, 'the foothill of Soltau, like a king on a chess-board, he moved about from place to place, hulked about like a pebble on the sea-shore.' But wherever he went Hubar was always cheerful, always kindly, always ready to enjoy the beauties of nature,—especially 'a wonderful, delicate and tortuous meadow with a mottled skin like shagreen.'

In 1760 he won Fergiana back, though he had to lose it again in 1800, because of an attempt to restore his greedy 'Mughal rivals' from plundering. 'It was a useless thing,' he writes, 'to expel so many men with arms in their hands. In war and in strife only a thing may seem reasonable at first sight, but it needs to be weighed and considered in a hundred lights before it is finally decided upon. This ill-judged order of mine was, in fact, the ultimate cause of my second captivity.'

Once there, however, he had to seek refuge 'by dangerous tracks among rocks. In the steep and narrow ways and gorges which we had to climb many a horse and camel dropped and fell out. We passed on, nevertheless, with incredible labour, through fearful gorges and tremendous precipices, until after a hundred agonies and labours, at last we topped those tremendous steep dolines and came down on the banks of Kila, with its lovely expanse of lake.'

During 1800-1 he captured Samarkand for a second time, married his cousin Aysha, had by her a daughter, 'who in a month or forty days went to paradise at the mercy of God.' After this they parted, he, 'as my affections decreased, my rhysons increased.'

Soon, Bala was defeated by Shashid, the Uzbek Leader at Sar-yul (Bridge Head), and again driven out of Samarkand within eight months. From 1802-4 he was once again a fugitive, with a following of only 'more than 200 and less than 300 men with cattle

1. Briggs II, p. 23.

2. 'Shashid or Shaid Beg was a powerful adventurer who first became Governor of Tashkent, and from that time forward, came into prominence as the great enemy of the Timurids in general, and of Bala in particular. His power, his cunning, his cruelty, made him a most formidable opponent; and until the hand of death finally removed him, he was no equal to an insupportable barrier to the career of the young prince of Fergiana' (Rothemann Williams, op. cit. p. 54).

in their hands and tattered clothes in their backs. In a garden he was once awaiting death; "but soon found life and fortune." The long blood in him carved out a kingdom in Kābil in 1204.

II. KING OF KABUL (1204-1225)

'It was in the last ten days of the second Rabi-ul-M. 1204 (1204) that without a fight, without an effort, by Almighty God's bounty and mercy, I obtained and made subject to me Kābil and Ghazni and their dependent divisions.'

'During my residence at Kābil', he writes, with great self-consciousness, 'I passed my days in such writing displays of dāst as I never did at any other time or do now.' So he assumed in 1205 the title of Padshāh or Emperor, which had never been borne by any Ghazni before him. 'Up to that date people had styled Tamār Bāg's descendants Afshar even when they were ruling; now I ordered that people should style me Padshāh.'

'The adoption of this new title marked an important change in his political ideas.'

The same year (1207), Bābur conquered Kandahar and turned it upon his younger brother Mirān, who, however, soon lost it within a week. It was not reconquered finally until fifteen years later.

Bābur still yearned for Samarkand. This year (1207) also he paid a visit to his cousin in Herat which was 'the home of culture and art.' 'In the whole habitable world,' says EYnar, 'there is not such another city.' But his object in going there was to see if he could secure their help in making yet another effort against Ghazni. He, however, soon realised that 'the lesser barbarians from the north' was not to be vanquished by men like these. The Afghāns, although accomplished and having a charming talent for conversation and society, 'possessed no knowledge whatever of the conduct of a campaign or of warlike operations and were perfect strangers to the preparations for a battle, and the discipline and spirit of a soldier's life.'

On his way back, Bābur met with 'such suffering and hardship as I had scarcely endured at any other time of my life.' Nevertheless,

1. Miran Prasad, *A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 100.

2. 'Herat,' says Ebnbatuta, 'is the eye—the lamp that illumines all other cities, Herat is the soul to the World's body; and if Khapān be the heart of the north, Herat is exclusively its brain.'

in 1511-12, he had the satisfaction of winning Samarkand, Bokhara and Khorezm for the last time, with the help of Shah Ismail, ruler of Persia.

In April 917 Hijra (Oct. 1511) Babur re-entered Samarkand "in the midst of such pomp and splendour as no one has ever seen or heard of before or even since". Babur's dominions now reached their widest extent: from Tashkent and Soltau on the borders of the Shams of Turan, to Kabul and Ghazni near the Indian frontier including Samarkand, Bokhara, Herat, Kandahar and Fergana.

But this glory was as short-lived as it was great. After fighting back one part of his dominions to another, being everywhere, he returned to Kabul in 1513-14.

The Shah had exacted from him a very heavy price. Babur was to hold these dominions under the Shah; he was also to become a convert to the Shia faith and adopt all its symbols, as well as enforce the Shia creed on the orthodox Sunni subjects of the conquered dominions. Though Babur refused to persecute anybody for his religious faith, his own conversion led to his fall.

With this last discrepancy in the north and east, the second period of Babur's life comes to a close, after this he definitely turned to the south and east, viz., India.

Although he continued to sit on the throne of Kabul for another twelve years, the history of the period 1514-25 is of little interest to the student of Indian History, except in its bearing on Babur's Indian expeditions, to which we must now turn our attention.

"Kabul", writes Babur, "is the intermediate point between Hindustan and Khorezm". "Babur", according to Lane-Poole, is the link between Central Asia and India, between predatory hordes and imperial government, between Turanians and Akhars¹...

III. BABUR IN INDIA (1525-1530)

"The great advantage of Hindustan," Babur was aware, "besides Towards Him its vast extent of territory, is the amount of wealth. To Hindustan, therefore, he turned his special attention when, after the conquest of Kabul, he felt the need for supplies."

1. *Tarikh-i-Baburi*, p. 146, cited by Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 124.

2. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 2.

(1) In 1504, he marched along the Peshawar-Afghanistan road, west through the Khyber, and then instead of attacking the river Indus marched on Kabul. Here he found much booty which he seized.

(2) In September 1507, he resolved, after some discussion, to march to the direction of Hindkush. So, placing a cohort in charge of Kabul, he came as far as Jalalpur (now Jalalabad), fighting his way among the Afghans and vainly attempting to subdue those 'robbers and plunderers even in face of peace'. The retreat of Shamsi emboldened Babur to return to his capital, and under river the advance into India was postponed.

(3) Sometime between 1504 and 1513, Babur profited by the example of Shah Ismail, determined to possess an effective artillery, and secured the services of an Ottoman Turk, named Ulugh Ali, who became his Master of Ordnance.

Between 1520 and 1525, likewise, he secured another Turkish expert named Murtazil, for the same purpose.

There were other indications of Babur's effective preparations for the intended conquest of India. "If there was one single material factor, which more than any other, conduced to his ultimate triumph in Hindkush," declares Rushbrooke Williams, "it was his powerful artillery."¹

(4) Babur again, in 1518, attempted reduction of the tribes and fortresses on the northwest of Kabul, as a preliminary to the conquest of Hindkush.

The sign for definite conquest, however, came to him from one of his nobles, who told, 'Go on then and possess the Empire of the East. You will find of the noblest country in the universe stretched beyond the river Indus the Empire which your fathers have marked out for you. Go and fix your Court in the centre of Hindkush and enjoy the delights of the Indies to the hour and age of Tatar. Everything seems to invite you to the south; From hence has conducted you to Kabul and put you on the road to Hindkush.' Gori and Muhammad engaged you to extinguish the slavery of the Indians.'

The effect of this on Babur is best summed up in what he himself wrote after the battle of Panipat:—

'From the year 910 Hija, when I obtained the principality of Kabul, up to the date of the events I now record, I had never owned

1. Rushbrooke Williams, *op. cit.*, p. III.

to think of the conquest of Hindustan. But I had never found a suitable opportunity for undertaking it, hindered as I was, sometimes, by the apprehensions of my Dign. sometimes by disagreements between my brothers and myself. Finally all these obstacles were happily removed. Great and small, Dign. and empire, no one dared say a word against the project.

"So, in 1725 *Aligar* (1815) I left at the head of an army, and made a start by taking *Bijapur*. . . . From this time to 1732 *Hydr* (1722) I was always actively concerned in the affairs of Hindustan. I went there in person at the head of my army, five times in the course of seven or eight years. The fifth time by the munificence and liberality of God, there fell beneath my blows as many as formidable as Sultan Ibrahim, and I gained the vast Empire of Deccan."

The five expeditions referred to above were—

First Expedition In 1729 he stormed *Bijapur* which fell after a spirited struggle, in which Dabur's own artillery played a decisive part. "By the favour and pleasure of the High God this strong and mighty fort was taken in 2 or 3 hours, reaching the fort were the stout struggle and effort of our braves; distinguish themselves they did, and won the name and love of braves."

Dabur looked upon this as the first step on the road to Hindustan. If here he succeeded in wholesale manner, it was to make an example. When he proceeded further to *Black*, on the *Indus*, he acted with great restraint. "As it was always in my heart to possess *Hindostan*, and as these several countries had once been held by the *Turks*,¹ I pictured them as my own, and was resolved to get them into my own hands whether peacefully or by force. For these reasons it being imperative to treat the Indians well, this order was given: 'Do no hurt or harm to the souls and lives of those people, nor even to their cotton seeds and broken needles'."

He despatched *Mulla Mustaid* to *Sultan Ibrahim* giving him the name and style of ambassador, to demand that the countries which from old times had belonged to the *Turks* should be given up to me. The *Mulla* was also given letters for *Daudat Khan*, Governor of the *Punjab*. "But the people of Hindustan, and particularly the *Afghans*, writes Dabur, 'are a strangely foolish and senseless race. This person, sent by me, *Daudat Khan* detained sometimes in *Lahore*

1 Cf. *Ibid.* p. 115, n. 2, cf. C. H. I. IV, p. 10.

2 *Timur* had overrun the *Punjab* in 1399/10.

order among him himself, not suffering him to proceed to Sultan Fakhru, so that my army, five months after, returned to Kabul without having received any answer.

Babur quitted India, leaving Shah in the charge of Hindū Beg; but the latter was soon (1515) expelled by the natives.

Second Expedition: The same year, in September, Babur again marched through the Khyber, in order to subdue the Yusufzai and procure Peshawar fort as a base for future operations in Hindūstan. But he was recalled by disturbing news from Badakhshan, which came into Babur's possession in 1520.

Third Expedition: For the third time Babur marched, in 1520, through Bajaur towards Herat. Subduing the rebellious Afghan tribes on the way, he proceeded to Balkh, which submitted without striking a blow. The people of Solayshpur defied Babur, but were easily subdued. However, Babur had to hastily reverse his steps again to fight Shah Beg Arghun, ruler of Kandahar.

After two unsuccessful efforts, Babur finally acquired Kandahar, in 1522, through the treachery of its Governor, Maulana, Abdul Razi. Shah Beg established himself in Herat, and Kamran (Babur's second son) was put in charge of Kandahar.

Fourth Expedition. Thus, thoroughly secure at home, Babur for the fourth time invaded India, in 1524. Daulat Khan, Governor of the Punjab, was growing very powerful. Salim Ismail had summoned him to Delhi. But Daulat Khan offended him by not appearing in person. To protect himself from the Sultan's wrath, Daulat Khan sent his son Dilmaz Khan, to invite Babur to determine Ismail's Lot in favour of his uncle Alam Khan (or Akbar II.).

Babur readily fell in with this invitation, and marched once more into the valleys of the Jhelum and the Chenab. Lohar and Dipshikar soon fell into his hands. Daulat Khan was defeated by the Delhi forces and driven into exile. But he came back and sought reinstatement at the hands of the invader. Babur, however, offered him only Jalandhar and Solayshpur instead. Daulat Khan felt disappointed, and the feud was bestowed upon his more reliable son Dilmaz Khan. Dipshikar was given to Alam Khan.

Daulat Khan and his second son Ghazal Khan fled to the hills, only to return in the wake of Babur's withdrawal. They recaptured Solayshpur from Dilmaz, and Dipshikar from Alam Khan. Ismail's

attempt to subdue Daulat Khán proved unsuccessful. But Bihār's Likhau detachment inflicted a defeat upon him.

On account of this unsettled state, Alam Khán fled to Kábul and once again sought Tiber's aid to vent himself on the throne of Delhi. In return Tiber was promised sovereignty over Likhau and the west Punjab.

Alam Khán returned to India with this understanding. But the only Daulat was him over. The two Kháns accordingly reached an Delhi, only to be disastrously routed by the Sultán.

PYTH'S EXPEDITION: Bihār now crossed the frontier for the last time (Nov. 1525), with the largest army he had ever led into Hindustán. Humáiyún was with him, with a contingent from Dadaidákhán. Crossing the Indus, the Likhau army also joined him. All told, his followers numbered not more than 12,000 of whom perhaps only 4,000 were effective.

Wellard had been lost. His generals in India had gathered together at Likhau. But Daulat Khán alone had taken the field with not less than 40,000 men. Daulat Lodi was soon to confront him with 1,00,000 men and a large number of war-elephants.

However, Daulat Khán's force, melted away at Bihār's mere approach. Bihār had nothing more to do with him than to upbraid him for his treacherous conduct. Death soon reached every Daulat Khán altogether from the field.

On February 26, 1526, Humáiyún won his spurs for the first time against an advance division of the Imperial forces. Daulat was coming from Delhi, and Bihār from Bherind and Ambala. On April 1, again Bihār's men constituted a cavalry division of the Sultán and crushed it. From April 12 to 15, one whole week, the two armies faced each other, with little action, near Panipat—the plain intended by Nature to be the battlefield of nations.¹

FIRST BATTLE OF PANIPAT

The battle was fought on April 26, 1526.

"On one side were the courage of despair, and something of the resources of scientific warfare; on the other side, men-at-arms of the medieval type, with mounted ranks of spear-men and archers thronging on in hot-hardy disorder."²

On April 29, a night attack by Bihār's men failed.

1. *Kans. Story of India*, I, p. 76.

On April 20, there was a scare in Dillur's army, of being out-numbered by the Indian forces.

On April 21, the Imperial army, emboldened by the unforeseen success of the enemy, forged ahead. Owing to its large numbers it had to narrow suddenly, the wide front collapsed in confusion in re-adjusting itself before Dillur's narrower entrenched position.

A less master of strategy, Dillur at once had recourse to 'volleys' and simultaneous artillery action. The Muslims surrounded the Indians on all sides and attacked, routed and slaughtered. Sedon was a day 'so fought, so followed, so badly won.'

'The sun had mounted spear-high when the onset began and the battle lasted till mid-day, when the enemy were completely broken and routed, and my people victorious and triumphant. By the grace of Almighty God this difficult affair was made easy to me and that mighty army, in the course of half a day, was led in the dust.'

Amul Fakih lay dead on the field, together with Bikram the Hindu Rajā of Gwalior, "who had joined the Muslim Sultan in defence of their common country".

(1) 5,000 corpses were counted near where the Sultan was found dead; 15 or 16 thousand had died in different parts of the field. 'On reaching Agra, we heard from the accounts of the natives of Hindustan, that 40,000 or 50,000 men had fallen in the field.'

(2) "The land simply changed masters after one supreme effort," *ibid.*

"To the Afghans of Delhi the battle of Panipat was their Calvary. It was the ruin of their dominions, the end of their power."

(4) The battle of Panipat marks the end of the second stage in Dillur's conquest of Hindustan.

1. This was the usual Ulag tactic; first turning the enemy's flank, then charging simultaneously on foot and war, letting fly the arrows at a bow-drunk gallop, and if repelled returning at top-speed. Dillur learnt this from Shadad, at the battle of Sar-i-pul and learnt to use it with deadly effect in India. (Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 87.) For plan of battle see Rudenstam-Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 128, C. H. L., IV, pp. 12-13.

2. Kinn, *op. cit.*

3. K. & D., *op. cit.*, IV, p. 128.

4. Kinn, *loc. cit.*

5. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

Answer: Bernhard Löff, though not lacking in personal valour, was, in Babur's estimation, "an inexperienced young man careless in his movements, who marched without order, halted or retired without method, and engaged without foresight."

(2) The week when the two armies lay facing each other, went in Babur's favour: it gave his men time to regain their self-confidence.

(3) The Delhi army had come up too precipitately without a halt even for a start. It was not disciplined enough for orderly readjustments to given situations. A sudden attempt in this direction threw its vast numbers into utter confusion.

(4) Babur was, on the contrary, a tried and successful commander, and his veterans were seasoned and disciplined warriors. "His men began the battle in no small alarm: it was their Emperor's art and science and watchful tactics that restored their confidence and gave them back their pluck."

(5) Babur's war elephants and vast numbers were more a source of weakness than strength against Babur's scientific combination of cavalry and artillery. The last was used in India among the earliest by Babur.

After the victory Babur at once despatched Humayun, with

Khwaja Kalā, to Agra, and another party to

take charge of the forts and treasure of Delhi.

On Friday, April 27, the *Khutba* was read in his name at Delhi.

Marching with the main army, Babur halted on the Jamunā opposite Delhi, in order to visit the tombs of Muslim saints and heroes. "On Thursday, the 25th Rajab (May 19th), about the hour of afternoon prayers, I entered Agra, and took up my residence in

1. *Ibid.*

2. Babur's description of the reception of the first news of Babur is interesting:—

"The people of Bājpur," he writes, "had never seen matchlocks, and at first were not in the least afraid of them; but, hearing the reports of the shots, stood opposite the guns, watching and playing merrily with flint. That day Ustād Ali Rāy (the chief gunner) brought down five men with his matchlock, and Wali Khatun killed two and the other matchbowmen shot well and bravely. . . . and seeing so truly that before night there to be Bājpuris were laid low, whereas before of the last because so frightened that not a man ventured to show his head for fear of the matchlockmen."

Sultan Husain's palace.' Next Father received from Humayun among other treasures, a diamond (*Koh-i-noor?*) valued at 'half the daily expenditure of the whole world.' But the father in generous recognition of his son's services, presented it to Humayun together with other gifts worth 70,00,000 *ahar* (or £20,000). A percentage of the value of some *haz* was bestowed on Humayun's mother. Parganas were also given to each of her *Amirs*. She was conducted with all her efforts to a palace, which was assigned for her residence, about a *haz* below Ajit.¹ His *Amir* received one to ten *lakh apnas* (42,750 to 83,500). Every soldier got his share of the booty (some traders and camp-followers were not forgotten in the booty, including those who were absent). Friends in *Farukha*, *Khoridin*, *Kish-gia*, and *Pavia* were surprised with gifts of gold and silver, dash and pearls, and captive slaves. Holy men in Herat, Samarikand, Mecca and Medina got their offerings; and every person in Kabul, man and woman, slave and free, young and old, received a silver coin as a memento of the victory. The balance was stored up in the vaults of the capital for the support of the army and administration.²

POST PANIPAT PROBLEMS

When I first arrived in Ajit, there was a strong mutual dislike and hostility between my people and the men of the place. The peasantry and soldiers of the country avoided and fled from my men. Afterwards everywhere, except only in Delhi and Ajit, the inhabitants devoted different posts, while the governors of towns put their fortifications in a posture of defence, and refused to submit or obey.' The nature of the situation he was confronted with, after his victory at Panipat is best described in his own words :—

1. The value is set at £300,000 (Erdosy, *op. cit.*, I, p. 431). It had originally belonged to Sultan Ahmad the Khalif of Malak. It was taken by Raja Birwand of Gwalior who had fallen on the field of Panipat. Now the Ghalib army presented it to Humayun as ransom while he besieged Ajit (E. & O. *op. cit.*, IV, p. 337).

It weighed 9 *masaks* or 224 *gah* (672 carats). Akbar's diamond presented to him by Mir Jamsa, weighed 600 *carats*. (Erasm, II, pp. 447-8; E. H. I, IV, p. 21, says that the diamond is now in the Tower of London. Cf. Akbar Nama, The Imperial Treasury of the Indian Moghals (Calcutta, 1840), pp. 145-157.)

2. E. & O. *loc. cit.*

3. *Ajmer-Palace*, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-5.

141. 'Khan Saadullah was in Samkang.

142. 'Nizam Khán in Bayana.

143. 'The Khan Khán Khan moved himself to Mawla.

'That battle was the more severe and agitating in all these combats and insurrections.

144. 'Kangas with the whole country beyond the Ganges, was entirely in the possession of refractory Afghans, such as Khan Khan Lohard, Mirza Feroz' and a number of other *Ambas* who had been in a state of open rebellion for two years before the death of Durrán.

At the instant I defected that prince, they had overrun, and were in possession of Kangas and the country in that quarter, and had advanced and occupied two or three marches on the side of Samkang. They elected Bahár Khán (or Baháddar Khán), the son of Durrá Khán, as their King, and gave him the name of Sa'idah Mah-múd. When I came to Jajm, we could not find grain or provender, either for ourselves or for our horses. The villagers, out of hostility for us, had taken to robbery, thieving, and robbery. The roads became impassable.

'I had not time, after the division of troops, to send proper parties to occupy and protect the different passages and routes.' To make matters worse, the heat was abnormal that year, and many of Durrá's men dropped down dead. Not a few of his *Begs* and best men began to lose heart, objected to remaining in Hindustán, and even began to make preparations for return. 'I no longer heard this murmuring among my troops, till I surrounded all my *Begs* in a camp. I told them that by Divine power, I had created my formidable enemy and achieved the conquest of the numerous provinces and kingdoms which we at present held. And now, what fear dreads and what hardship oblige us, without any visible cause, after having worn out our life in accomplishing the desired achievement, to abandon and fly from our conquests, and to retreat

1. 'Mirza Nizáddin Mawla' (1480-1501 A.D.) in his *Wásiqá*, describes characteristically the Mirza Mirza Feroz in the following terms: 'He was a sturdy, courageous, and generous man. From the time of Nizáddin Baháddar to that of Sultan Sháh, he fought in every battle field but always escaped without a wound. He would accept of no reward or present from any king (as he was working 'wholly in the cause of God') and would never set foot into the house of any Hindu.' For interesting accounts illustrating the character, see E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 54-5.

back to Khat with every symptom of disappointment and disgust. Then? "Let not any one who calls himself my friend ever henceforward make such a proposal. But if there is any one among you who cannot bring himself to stay, or give up his purpose of returning back, let him depart." Having made this fair and reasonable proposal, the disappointed wife of necessity compelled, however unwillingly, to renounce their sedition purposes.

The final subjugation of the Akhitas had to be deferred to the face of a more formidable foe.

Rajad Sangram Singh of Mewar, popularly known as Raji Sangar,¹ and Madan Rai of Chitodur, with two The Rajputs. Singh warriors under whose leadership the Rajputs had determined to drive out the Muslim invaders.

The fact that Madan Rai (brother of Bhatin Rai) and Bhatin Mahmud Lodhi (brother of Bhatin Lodhi) had joined with the Rajas made it apparent that it was not a war of the Hindus against the Muhammadans, but a united national effort against a common enemy of the country.

1. Raji Sangar was the head of the Rajas principally of Chitaur and the representative of a family which, by universal consent of the Rajputs, is allowed the pre-eminence among all the Rajput tribes as its most ancient and the noblest. Like Bhatin, he had been educated in the school of adversity. After overcoming the many difficulties and dangers of his early life, when he at length mounted the throne he carried on successful wars with his neighbours on every side and added largely to his hereditary domains. From Bhatin Mahmud Lodhi, the king of Mewar—whom he defeated in battle, took prisoner, and honourably released as a sign of victory of the last days of slavery—he had won the whole and valuable provinces of Bhatin, Sirangpur, Chitodur and Raigarh. He had engaged in battles with Bhatin Bhatin of Delhi and never had met the Sultan himself in pitched battles. Fifty thousand soldiers, seven Rajas of the highest rank, were Bhatin and one hundred and five chieftains bearing the flags of Bhatin and Bhatin, with five hundred war elephants, followed him into the field. The prince of Bhatin and Amber did him homage, and the Rajas of Gwalior, Ajmer, Etol, Bhatin, Kalpi, Chitodur, Bhatin, Gwalior, Sirangpur and Bhatin served him as tributaries or held of him in fee. His personal figure corresponded with his deeds. He exhibited at his death but the fragment of a warrior. One eye was lost in the hand with his brother, an arm in an action with the Lodhi King of Delhi, and he was a cripple owing to a limb being broken with a cross-bill in another, while he created mighty wounds from the sword in the face on various parts of his body. (Lata Prasad, op. cit., pp. 101-4.)

Abdual Yildiz, in his *Türkî-i Selâsik-i Âfâkîye* writes: 'Bilâl Gâzi who was at that time a powerful chief, sent a message to Husnâ Khân saying, "The Maghals have entered Bileciklâ, have slain Selâm Beykhan, and taken possession of the country. It is evident that they will likewise send an army against both of us. If you will take with me we will be alive, and not suffer them to take possession."¹

But Bâhar himself looked upon this only as a holy war against the infidel, with whom had joined some Muslim apostates. Thus he indicated by his assumption of the title of Ghâzi after the victory: 'After this victory I used the epithet of Ghâzi, in the Imperial titles.' This was necessary to arouse his dispersed and home-sick followers. Bâhar was a master of the art of persuasion, with a keen eye for the dramatic.

'A general consternation and alarm prevailed among great and small. There was not a single person who uttered a cowardly word, nor an individual who delivered a cowardly opinion. The Pashas, whose duty it was to give good counsel, and the Aghas who enjoyed the wealth of kingdoms, neither spoke bravely, nor was their counsel or department such as became men of firmness.'

Preliminary skirmishes only confirmed the apprehension of Bâhar's men, who had heard disconcerting stories of Bilgâzi valour. Bâhar, as Laro-Polâ points out, "was now to meet warriors of a higher type than any he had encountered. The Bilgâzi, energetic, chivalrous, fond of battle and bloodshed, animated by a strong national spirit, were ready to meet face to face the boldest veterans of the camp, and were at all times prepared to lay down their life for their honour."²

The lordlings of an aristocracy, whom Bâhar describes as as 'well-minded cowardly fellows,' made things appear more ominous. But Bâhar rose equal to the situation, as always he had done:

'On Monday, the 22nd of the first Jumaâ, I had mounted to survey my posts and, in the course of my ride, was seriously struck with the reflection that I had always resolved one time after another to make effectual repentance.' He had been confirmed before,³ now he determined to repentance were for ever. So, "having

1. E. & O., op. cit., V, pp. 31-2.

2. Laro-Polâ, op. cit., p. 226.

3. Here is a typical passage from the *Memoirs*, wonderfully frank and joyous:—

went for the gold and silver goblets and cups, with all the other usuals used for drinking parties, I directed them to be broken, and re-

Oct. 18. "We feasted at Juchalla. Towards evening prayer there was a drinking party; most of the household were present. Near the end, G. M. grew very noisy and troublesome, and, when he got drunk, did dance on the cushions by my side, whereupon G. T. picked him up and carried him out.

Mashing things before daybreak I explained the value of the harvest; some farm boys were in great hurry. We feasted there and, having dined reasonably, we drank wine in honour of the rich crop. We made them, but a sheep picked up on the road had some meat dressed, and amused ourselves by stuffing our lances.

Oct. 20. On Sunday I had a party at the small picture-cabinet over the gate. Though the room was very small we were satiated.

Oct. 20. We went to Juchalla to see the harvest. That day was dear the son of Ma-pu (i.e., I took charge). During the night there was a great deal of rain. Most of the Japs and household were obliged to take refuge in my tent outside the garden. Next morning we had a drinking party in the same garden; we continued at it all night.

Nov. 1. On the following morning we again had an early cup, getting intoxicated, went to sleep. About noon-day prayers we left Juchalla and took a dog (Hsing) on the road. It was about afternoon prayers before we reached Kichuall. The crops were extremely good. While we were riding round the harvest fields, those who were kind of who began to receive another falling leaf. Although falling had been taken, yet as the crops were uncommonly fine, we sat down under some trees that had yielded a plentiful load of fruit and began to drink. We kept the party in the same place all forenoon prayers. Amdolich who had got very drunk and made an offensive remark, reverting his senses, was a terrible punishment, and recovered in a wonderfully smooth and sweet stream all the rest of the evening.

Jan. 5 1550. We embarked on a raft and drifted near the Garden of Pailloren. Its oranges were yellowing well and the green of the plants was beautiful. We stayed five or six days there. As I intended when just over old to abstain from wine, and as now I would moderate from then on just of that age, I drank wine most regularly.

Jan. 7. Ma's Turk played an air, which he disposed to, the Ma's small measure while I took my drug. It was charming. For sometime I had not much attended to musical matters. I took a fancy that I too should compose something.

Jan. 20. While taking an early glass it was said in sport that whoever spoke like a Persian should drink a cup. In the result many drank about noon in the morning, while we were sitting under willows in the garden. It was proposed that everyone who spoke like a Turk should drink a cup, and another drunk. When the sun appeared high we went under the orange trees and drank on what we the Turk.

nourished the use of wine, purifying my mind. The fragments of the goblets, etc., I directed to be divided among the *derwishes* and the *poor*.

Salt was thrown into the store of wine just received from *Guzni*; all the rest found in the camp was poured upon the ground; and a well was ordered to be dug, and an altar-house built on the spot, to commemorate this great religious event. As a boon to his *Mohammedan* followers and subjects, he gave up the *leung-tai* or stamp-tax in all his dominions so far as *Muslims* were concerned.

To 'Jihen the *sinners*, and runneth up the blood' of his men *Edhe* also made a stirring appeal to them in the following words:—

'*Not-men and soldiers!* Every man that comes into this world is subject to dissolution.— How much better is it to die with honour than to live with infamy. . . . God Most High has been gracious in giving us this destiny, that if we fall we die martyrs, if we conquer we triumph in His Holy Cause. Let us swear with one accord that, by the Great Name of God, we will never turn back from such a death, or shrink from the stress of battle, till our souls are parted from our bodies."

To seal the action to his words, on New Year's Day (March 12, 1527) 'they took a number of *Pagans* and cut off their heads, which they brought in. . . . This raised the spirits of the army wonderfully, and gave them confidence. They swore by the *divines* of their *sect*, and on the Holy Book'—they recited the *Surah* and said, "O King! God willing, we will not spare ourselves in sacrifice and devotion, so long as breath and life are in our bodies."

Edhe declared *Jihad* or holy war on the infidel, on February 12, 1527. The justification for it is to be found in the following statements:—

1. Cf. The *Shaykh* (Ch. II.)

"Nought better can befall a mortal soul
Than *holy* war, happy the warrior
To whom comes joy of battle—comes, at noon,
Glorious and fair, unsought, opening for him
A gateway of Heaven. . . . *Edhe*, being killed,
Then with his *Shaykh's* *religion*, or alive
And *more*, than with reign as earthly King."

(To *Edhe* *Arzid*.)

(1) "Although Shah Sangha, the Pagan, when I was at Kāśī had sent me an ambassador with professions of attachment, and had arranged with me, that, if I would march from that quarter into the vicinity of Delhi, he would march from the other side upon Agra; yet, when I departed Bakhshī, and took Delhi and Agra, the Pagan, during all my operations, did not make a single movement."

(2) On the other hand the Shah also complained of broken faith; and, in particular claimed Kāśī, Dholpur, Rohtas, as well as Agra—all of which had been occupied by Bābur.¹

(3) "Kāśī Sangha, having reduced Nāder Kāśī of Bāpura to great submission, that chief sent a deputation to Bābur, requesting his aid, for which he was ready to pay him due homage. The King did not hesitate to accept his allegiance, and sending a force to assist Sangha, Nāder Kāśī was confined in possession of Bāpura, which was settled upon him, with all its dependencies in consideration of his paying an annual tribute of twenty *lacs* of rupees."²

The two armies met at Kāśīnag (70 miles from Meer), 20 (over Agra) on Saturday, March 16, 1527.

Bābur's arrangements were in the main similar to those at Pāthkot, with the difference, that guns this time were mounted on wheeled tripods to facilitate movement. A special feature in its disposition was also the great strength of the reserve. Bābur in person led the centre, Hamayūn was on the right, and Makhli Kāshīk (Bābur's brother-in-law) on the left.³

The objectives on the Rājput side, no doubt, overestimated their antagonists by seven or eight to one,⁴ and, although Bābur's army on that occasion was greater than the one he had commanded at Pāthkot, "the depression and vacillation which the Padshāh was at pains to overcome proves that the strange miracle was not in good."⁵

Results. The victory of Bābur, was nevertheless final and complete. Hardly a clan of the Rājputs was there but had lost the

1. *Triloka*, op. cit., p. 403.

2. *Triloka*, II, p. 16.

3. For plan and details see Rothrock's *Williams*, op. cit., p. 128.

4. "Wherever the most numerous might have been 'a more gallant army could not be brought into the field.'" (Lans-Pope, op. cit., p. 180.)

5. Rothrock's *Williams*, op. cit., p. 132.

flower of his princely blood. Blind Sangu himself escaped badly wounded. The heads of the gallant Rajputs (who had been 'sent to hell') were built into a ghastly tower, and Bābar, as previously noted, assumed the title of Ghāsi or victor in holy war.

The consequences of the battle of Khambhat were most momentous: (i) The menace of Rajput supremacy, which had loomed large before the eyes of the Muhammadians in India for the last 150 years, was removed once for all. (ii) The Mughal Empire in India was now firmly established. In the words of R. Williams, 'Bābar had definitely seated himself upon the throne of Sultan Ibrahim and the sign and seal of his achievement had been the annihilation of Sultan Ibrahim's most formidable antagonist. *William's* the completion of *Humayun's* might have been looked upon as an episode in Bābar's career of adventures, but from *Humayun's* it became the beginning of his activities for the remainder of his life. The days of wandering in search of a fortune are now passed away; the fortune is his; and he has but to show himself worthy of it. And it is significant of the new stage in his career which the battle marks that never afterwards does he have to stake his throne and life upon the issue of a sudden field. Fighting the extension of his power, for the reduction of rebels, for the ordering of his kingdom. It is never fighting for his throne.'

(iv) 'It is also significant,' he further observes, 'of Bābar's grasp of vital issues that from henceforth the centre of gravity of his power is shifted from Kabul to Hindustan . . . He resolutely remained in India for the rest of his days, fighting, governing, administering, striving to put all things upon a sound basis ere death called him away.'

(v) Within a year Bābar had won two decisive blows, which shattered the power of two great expelled forces: the battle of Panipat had utterly broken the Afghan power in India; the battle at Khambhat (also called Sāki) crushed the great Rajput Confederacy.¹

Bābar commissioned his officers to subjugate the rest of the *Reduction of* country, and sent them in various directions *Rebels* with small armies to help them. "These took

¹ A village in Bharuch district 27 miles west of Anra. C. H. I, IV, p. 18.

² *Humayun's* Williams, op. cit. 156-7.

³ *Lane-Poole*, op. cit., p. 188.

lands fought with utmost zeal, compassed that they were making their own destiny, whilst at the same time the tyrannies thus required represented an extension of the dominions of their master.¹

Humayun conquered Samarkand, Jampir, Chirchik, and Khatir; Muhammad Ali Jung-Jung captured Sakari; Mirza Khwaja captured Kheri. Kheri was taken by Sultan Muhammad Daud, and Dihli by Sultan Jamsid Berke. Sheikh Qures of Kai (Domb) was won over by promise of protection; Sheikh Bayazid—an important lieutenant of the Lodi king—was granted a jagir worth a crore of rupees in Oudh. Bayazid and Gaffar had refused to aid Babur for fear of the Rājputs, and the Lodi and Faruqi chieftains who had championed the cause of Selim Mahmud, retired away before Babur's concentration of forces. Hasan Khān Mirzai died in the field of Kiliyat.²

When Babur left his garrisons behind him beyond Delhi he sent back Humayun to Badkhubān and other important officers to other parts of his dominions outside India. Kamalāt, one of his best conquests in 1522, was in Kamrudin's charge. Khwaja Kallo Babur's old general, had been sent to Ghazni after the battle of Pithorai. Afghan was established in Multan when it was conquered in 1527. Haveli was at Kallo.

In February, 1528, Babur wrote to Khwaja Kallo in Afghanistan: "The affairs of Hindustan have at length been brought to some degree of order, and I trust in Almighty God that the time is near at hand when, through His favour, everything will be quite settled here." But after the battle of Kiliyat, and before Babur could realise the hope here expressed, there were at least three serious left to overcome. —

1. *Mirza Ali of Chanderi*. "On Monday the 14th of the first Rabi, (Dec. 9, 1527) I set out in pursuance of a vow on a holy war against Chanderi near Bilaspur. . . . Chanderi had formerly belonged to the Sultan of Mirda. . . . When Rana Sangh advanced

¹ *Rushbrooke Williams*, op. cit., p. 142.

² Babur bestowed on Hasan Khān a jagir of several fars for his support. . . . "I bestowed on Ghis Tahir Salikh the city of Tajana, which was the capital of Mirda, granting him at the same time a settled provision of fifty fars. . . . I bestowed the treasures of Akwat, with everything in the fort, upon Humayun" (E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 273-4.)

with an army against Heribide as far as Chitodet, that prince's *Amars* ran against him and on that occasion Chitodet fell into Sangar's hands. He bestowed it on Masdan Paj, a Pagan of great consequence, who was now in the place with 4000 or 5000 Pagans. . . . I went to him to assure him of my favour and clemency, and offering him *Stamallid* in exchange for Chitodet. Two or three considerable people about him were averse to cession, . . . and the treaty broke off without success. . . . So, the citadel was attacked on all sides. Some of our troops were attacked furiously, and put to the sword. The reason for this desperate rally from their woe was that on giving up the place for lost, they put to death the whole of their wives and women and, having resolved to perish, had stripped themselves naked,¹ in which condition they had rushed out to the fight, and engaging with invincible desperation, drove our people along the ramparts. Two or three hundred Pagans had entered Masdan Kij's house, where numbers of them slew each other. In the way many went to hell, and by the favour of God, in the space of two or three glows, I gained the celebrated fort, without raising my standard, or beating my kettle-drum, and without using the whole strength of my arms. On the top of a hill to the north-west of Chitodet, I erected a tower of the heads of Pagans. . . . I gave Chitodet to Ahmad Shih, the grandson of Sultan Nizara-d din, and fixed a revenue of fifty *lets* to be paid from it to the Imperial treasury.² We also learn from Ahmad Yildiz - 'So much plunder was taken from that heathen army' by the *Auder* 'that the King's troops obtained sufficient support there for years.'³

1. *Alphide Kevir*: On February 2, 1535, Babur set out to punish the Afghan rebels who had advanced from Bikh into Delhi, stormed *Shamallid*⁴ and driven the Imperial garrison out of Karnal. At Babur's approach, the enemy crossed the river Ganges and reas-

1 Cf. Ahmad Yildiz who writes: 'The number of his vanguard, having already taken the fort, made captive of the concubines and family of the Rik, and despatched them to the feet of the royal throne. The Majesty presented two of the daughters of the King, whom beauty was admired, who had never been exposed to the view of man, or to the hot winds; one to Mirza Mansur, the other to Prince Muhammad Husayin, and gave the others to the *Sandirs* of the army' (II. & D., op. cit., V, p. 89).

2 *Ibid.*

3 Babur had bestowed *Shamallid* on Babuzai, the second son of Rikd Sang, in return for Rastanid, (II. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 281).

lined on its left bank to dispute Bihār's passage. The Emperor reached the great river, on February 27, built a bridge across its broad stream, by March 12, put the transports to heading, sailed, and boldly passed them as far as Gual. After that Bihār returned to Agn for the rainy season.

'On Thursday, the 2nd of the first *Jamada*, I received letters which contained intelligence that Mahomet, the son of Bahadur, had taken Bidar. On Thursday, the 17th, we marched eight kos, and halted at Dahdala, a jergama of Kurn, on the banks of the Ganga.

'While in this neighbourhood, intelligence reached us of varied importances, that Sultan Mahomet had gathered round him 120,000 Afghans, and was moving upon Chauri; that Sher Khan Mir, on whom I had bestowed marks of favour, to whom I had given several jergamas, and where I left an command in that quarter, had now joined these Afghans. On the 19th, it appeared that the rebels had come and had siege to Chauri; but that on getting the certain news of my approach, they were filled with consternation, broken up in confusion and raised the siege.'

3. *Nizam Shah of Berar*.—After that the rebels sought relief in Berar. 'As I was at peace with Berar, and had always been the first to enter into any understanding that had a tendency to confirm a friendly state of things,' Bihār started negotiations with Nizam Shah, the ruler of Berar. Failing in this, he sent an ultimatum: 'If he refused to leave the passage open, and subjected to Bihār to the vexatiousness which I made, then whatever evil fell on his head, he must regard that as proceeding from his own sin; and he should leave himself only to blame for any unpleasant circumstances that occurred.'

On May 6, 1528, the issue was decided finally at the battle of the Gogri (Burd). The result was disastrous to the Bargaris. 'The Bargaris are famous for their skill in artillery. On this occasion we had a good opportunity of observing them. They do not direct their fire against a particular point, but discharge at random.' On Bihār's side, 'the movement was brilliantly carried out in the face of a determined resistance. Attacked in front and rear and flank, the enemy broke and fled. Good generalship had won more gilded values to victory.' A treaty of peace was concluded with

Bengal, according to which each party was to respect the sovereignty of the other and neither party was to shelter or support the other's enemies.¹

Swish Miyoshi, who had throughout sided with the rebels, soon again attacked Lucknow but could not hold on for long. 'It appeared that on Saturday, the 15th of June, the enemy had made an attack, but could effect nothing. During the assault, some hay that had been collected, being set on fire by the fireworks, torpedoes, and other combustibles that were thrown on at the works of the fort became as hot as an oven, and it was impossible to stand on the parapet, and consequently the fort was taken.' 'On the 15th Sharnah at midnight I reached the garden of Bakhshidih at Agra.

BABUR'S LAST DAYS

Babur had very few days left to him now on this side of the grave. When everything was quite settled in Hindustan, he had written to Khwaja Koka an Afghani, 'I shall set out for your quarters, God willing, without losing a moment. How can the delights of those lands ever be extirpated from the heart? How can one like me, who has viewed abundance and purity of life, possibly forget the delicious melons and grapes of that happy land?' The other day they brought me a musk-oxen; as I cut it up I felt a deep home-sickness, and tears of exile from my head, and I could not help weeping.

Amazingly, he even set out and went as far as Lahore, where he met his son Kamran. He was disappointed at Humayun's failure against the Uzbegs. He had recalled Kamran, his youngest son, from Kabul. The strain of his constant campaigns, wanderings, and only drinking excesses, had told upon him rather heavily, despite his extraordinary energy and strength.

He had been known to take up a man under each arm and run with him round the battlements of a fortress, leaping the embrasures; and even in March, 1529, he noted: 'I swam across the river Ganga for amusement. I counted my strokes, and found that I swam over in thirty-three strokes. I then took breath, and swam back to the other side. I had crossed by swimming every river I had met except only the Ganges.' He was also perpetually

1 Cf. C. H. I, IV, p. 18.

in saddle, riding 80 miles a day sometimes, and the rapidity of his marches was often amazing."¹

He had even survived the poison administered to him by Bhabur Lodhi's mother.² Now his strength was on the decline; even his mental vigour seemed to have been affected. There was a plot to get aside Hamidpur, in favour of Mir Mahammad Mirza Khudja (Bhabur's sister's husband?). Hamidpur recovered a speedy warning, and hastened to Agra, which he reached on June 27, 1830, together with his mother.

"If God should grant you the throne and crown", Babur said to her, "do not put your brothers to death. Remember of but look sharply after them." In the winter of 1830 Hamidpur fell dangerously ill. In the

state he was carried from Sambhal to Delhi. Hearing of this, Bhabur tenderly expressed to Mirza, Hamidpur's mother, "Although I have other sons, I love none as I love your Hamidpur. I agree that the cherished child may have his heart's desire and live long, and I desire the Kingdom for him because he has not his equal in distinction."³

Every school-boy knows the story how Bhabur bore away his son's illness and succumbed himself in order to save Hamidpur. As the latter recovered the former became worse; and after two or three months Bhabur died, on Monday, December 26, 1830.⁴

Just before this he had called his Amirs together and told them: "For years it has been in my heart to surrender my throne to Hamidpur and retire to the Gold-Scattering Garden. By the Divine Grace I have obtained in health all things but the fulfilment of this wish. Now, when I am laid low by illness, I charge you to undertake Hamidpur as my successor, and to remain loyal to him. Be of one heart and mind towards him, and I hope to God that Hamidpur will also bear himself well before men."

Then turning to Hamidpur he repeated his admonition to him regarding, in particular, the treatment of his brother: "Hamidpur,

1. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

2. Raddcliffe Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-5. Also see S. M. Khan, *Bhabur: Sonnet and Sonnet*, pp. 40-1. Bhabur, when he recovered from the effects of the poison, observed: "An evil arrived but happily passed. God gave us one birth ... I know to-day the worth of life."

3. Ravi S. K. Sharma, *Hamidpur Mirza*, p. 12; Sri B. Sharma, "The Story of Bhabur's Death" in the *Calcutta Review*, Sept. 1834.

I continue to God's keeping you and your brothers and all my kin, folk and your people and my people; and all of them I confide to you. . . . The dream of my testamentary dream is this: 'Do naught against your brothers, even though they may desire it.'

By his own desire, Hilber's body was carried to Kabul and buried there in 'the sweetest spot' on a hillside, amidst beloved surroundings: a cool running stream and sweet-smelling flowers.¹

"Death makes no conquest of this Conqueror.

For now he lives in Fame."

ESTIMATE OF BABUR

Hilber's fundamental qualities, according to an old estimate, were 'a lofty judgment, noble ambition, the art of victory, the art of government, the art of endowing prosperity upon his people, the talent of ruling nobly the people of God, ability to win the hearts of his soldiers, and love of justice.'²

"Hilbur", writes Vincent A. Smith, "was the most brilliant Asiatic prince of his age, and worthy of a high place among the sovereigns of any age or country."³

Havell says, "His engaging personality, artistic temperament, and romantic career make him one of the most attractive figures in the history of India."⁴

According to Elliot, "Good humoured, brave, magnificent, dignified, and frank in his character, he might have been a Henry IV if his training had been in Europe."⁵

"In his person", writes Firishta, "Hilbur was handsome, his address was engaging and unaffected, his countenance was pleasing, and his disposition affable."⁶

Less but not the least, Hilber's cousin Mirza Hindu describes him as being "adorned with virtuous virtues and clad with numberless excellences, above all which shined bravery and humanity. . . . Indeed, no one of his family before him ever possessed such talents,

1 For interesting particulars read F. E. Bennett, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

2 Cited by Rutherford Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

3 Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

4 Havell, *Asiatic India in India*, p. 420.

5 E. & D., *op. cit.*, IV, p. 323.

6 Briggs, II, p. 68.

nor any of his race perform such amazing exploits or experience such strange adventures.¹

According to Lane-Poole, "His permanent place in history opens upon his Indian conquests, which opened the way for an imperial line, but his place in biography and in literature is determined rather by his daring adventures and pioneering efforts in his earlier days and by the delightful *Mamures* in which he related them. Soldier of fortune as he was, Elbur was not the less a man of fine literary taste and fastidious critical perception. His letters as well as his verses were illuminated by a breath of poetry."²

As a poet of pure, the estimate of Mirsh Haidar is invaluable. "In the composition of Turki poetry he (Elbur) was second only to Akbar Ali Sheh. He has written a *diwan* in the most hard Turki. He invented a style of verse called *shabkhyah*, and was the author of a most useful treatise on jurisprudence which has been generally adopted. He also wrote an essay on Turki prosody, more elegant than any other and revised the *Kashid-i-Fikahiyah* of His Reverence (?). Then there is his *Wakay*, or Turki *Mamures*, written in simple, unaffected, yet pure style. He excelled in music and other arts."³

Elbur was undoubtedly a man of outstanding genius: a lover of the arts, a keen naturalist, a keen and critical observer of men and things, and an accomplished writer who has immortalised himself, not merely as the founder of one of the most glorious dynasties that have ruled in India, but also as the prince of autobiography, by bequeathing to posterity his delightful *Mamures* which abound in descriptions of the countries he visited, their scenery, climate, productions, and works of art and industries, "more full and accurate than will, perhaps, be found in equal space, in any modern

1. *Tarikh-i-Jahangir*, cited by Lane-Poole op. cit., p. 10 n.

2. Lane-Poole, loc. cit., pp. 13, 14.

3. Elbur, besides being a perfect writer of the various scripts in use during his time, had also created a style of his own, which was called after him 'the Elbur script'. To Mirshad Ali Akbar was to "write undeniably clearly, with plain words, which were familiar to both writer and reader." "The language of Elbur," he wrote, "is the King of languages." This as they well apply describes the quality of Elbur's own writings. For an appreciation of arts and letters under Elbur, read S. M. Jaffer *The Akbari Papers*, pp. 11-12.

traveler, and considering the circumstances in which they were compiled, truly surprising."

"But," Elphinstone very truly observed, "the great charm of the work is in the character of the author, whom we find, after all the trials of a long life, retaining the same kind and affectionate heart and the same easy and sociable temper, with which he set out on his career, and in whom the possession of power and grandeur had neither blunted the delicacy of his taste nor diminished his sympathy to the enjoyments of nature and imagination."

"No part of his character," Erskine points out, "is more admirable than his uniform humanity and kindness of disposition. It, in the course of his *Memoirs* some cruel excruciating aspect, they belong to the age, not to the man. The humanity of his eyes remark that whenever any, either of his nobles or brothers, had revolted or entered into rebellion against him, no sooner did they acknowledge their offense and return to their duty than, to use the words of Khali Khán, contrary to the customs of the princes of Persia, Arabia, or India he not only forgave them, but never retained towards them any feeling of resentment."

Elbar was pre-eminently a man of faith. "Nothing happens," he used to say, "but by the will of God. Relying ourselves on His protection, we must go forward." He attributed every bit of his success to the grace of the Almighty. After his victory over Dohidin, even before entering the capital, he solemnly visited the tombs of Muslim saints and heroes in the vicinity of Delhi. His glorious remembrance of when before the battle of Khatwa was an act of genuine repentance for his sins before God.

The history of Elbar that we have traced is nothing if it were not a record of brilliant generalship. Himself
[1] *Now is a* "an admirable horseman, a fine shot, a good General
General"
overseer, and a mighty hunter," Elbar was well calculated to catch the imagination of his soldiers. Besides these qualities, he possessed in an eminent degree the supreme virtue of a born leader of men. He enjoyed and suffered with his men, and thoroughly understood every man in his army, both officer and private. What is perhaps more necessary in a commander of armies, he correctly gauged both the strength and the weakness of the con-

1. Elphinstone *op. cit.* pp. 434-435

2. Erskine *op. cit.* pp. 324-5.

meaders and women that were opposed to him. Above all to his native courage he added the unbending tenacity of his will and the unquestionable fire of his ambition. Filled as I was by the ardour of conquest and blood wars,' he writes, 'one or two reverses could not make me sit down doing nothing.'

'What though the field be lost,
All is not lost—the unconquerable will
And courage never to submit or yield'

The following passage from his *Memoirs* is typical of his life:—

1800—"For about a week we went on tramping down the snow, and were only able to make two or three miles a day. I helped in tramping the snow with ten or fifteen of my household, and with Julius, my son and his sons and a few servants, we all dismounted and laboured at horses down the snow. Each step we took to the waist or the breast, but still we went on tramping it down. After a few paces a man became exhausted, and another took his place. Then the men who were tramping it down, dropped forward a horse without a rider, the horse sank to the stirrups and girths, and after advancing ten or fifteen paces was worn out and replaced by another, and thus ten to twenty of us laid down the snow and brought our horses on, whilst the rest—even our best men, many of them *divy* rode along the road that horses sank for them, hanging their heads. It was no time for carrying stores or using awkwardly; if a man was *plush* and *hardfaced*, he would press forward to sink neck of his own accord.

'That night the storm was terrible, and snow fell so heavily that we all expected to die together. When we reached the mountain pass the storm was at its worst. We dismounted at its mouth. Deep snow 'a man's knee' and even on this tramped-down and trampled road, *pitfalls for horses*. The days at their shortest. The first arrivals reached the cave by day-light, later they dismounted wherever they happened to be, dawn found many still in the saddle. The snow ceased was weak. I took a shovel, and scraping and clearing the snow away made a place for myself as big as a pigeon-croquet—near its mouth. I dug down twice high, but did not reach the ground. The made me a little shelter from the wind when I sat right down in it. They begged me to go inside, but I could not. I felt that for me to be so warm shelter and comfort whilst my men were out in the snow and drift, for me to be sleeping at ease inside, whilst my men were in misery and distress, was not a man's act and far from manly. What strong man can stand, I would stand! As the Persian proverb says, "In the company of friends Death is a capital feast!" So I remained in the snow and wind in the hole that I had dug out, with snow four-faths thick on my head and back and ears.'

But, whose chastity was called for, Bihār never tolerated Fakhra's obscenity. "He even used violence to prevent outrage"; "It is certain", he adds, "his presence alone saved the honour of Daudat Khan's family," (when Bihār's men would have otherwise outraged it). Bihār possessed by his custom on this occasion, a fine library collected by Ghidat Khan (Daudat Khan's son), who was a poet and a man of learning.¹ Bihār himself records: "Having learned that the troops had committed some crimes towards the inhabitants of Bahrah— and were using them ill, I sent out a party, who having spared a few of the soldiers that had been guilty of the excesses, I put some of them to death, and did the same of some others and had them led about the camp in that condition. As I received the complaint that had belonged to the Turks as my own brethren, I abstained of no plundering or pilage."²

The Empire of Bihār extended from Badakhshan to Bengal, from the Ganges to the Ganges; in India alone, from Bihār to Bihār (Bahrah) in the west to Bihār in the east; from the Hindkush in the north to Chitradel in the South. But "I had not time . . . to send proper persons to occupy and protect the different provinces and regions." Bihār was too much preoccupied with wars and conquests to devote any serious attention to the administrative organisation of his vast dominions. Having conquered, his primary consideration seemed to be to maintain his kingdom in peace and order. This, no doubt, he was well qualified to do, with his military genius and efficient army. But to organise conquest and to organise administration are two different things; the latter calls for genius of an altogether different type. Sher Shah and Akbar possessed this, but not Bihār.

- (i) To meet danger and hardship, and show valour in arms;
- (ii) To shun violence and ease, as unbecoming of a King;
- (iii) To consult: *Diya* and ministers; to avoid private parties; to call the court to public houses twice every day;
- (iv) To keep up the strength and discipline of the army—these were the principles he had studied upon Humayun, and they seem to have nearly exhausted Bihār's kingly code. He was,

1. We have already noted how he generously provided for Bihār Lod's mother after the Sultan's death at Pliquet.

2. *Bihār* II, p. 45.

3. *R. & D.*, op. cit., p. 220.

no doubt, anxious to protect his subjects from the oppression of free-lancers, as is indicated by the following casual observation in his Memoirs:—'Every time that I have entered Hadramda, the Jita and Gajari have regularly poured down in prodigious numbers from their hills and wadis, in order to carry off oxen and buffaloes. These were the articles that really enriched the chief landlords, and were guilty of the severest oppression in the country. These districts (in the Farafra) in former times, had been in a state of revolt and paid very little revenue that could be come of. On the present occasion, when I had reduced the whole of the neighbouring districts to submission, they began to report their practices. . . . I sought out the persons guilty of these outrages, discovered them and ordered two or three of the number to be put in place.'

Another instance of Ismael's ruthlessness in putting down marauders is also recorded by Ahmed Yildiz: 'When he reached Bahari, one of the Khair of Samana complained to him that Mohan Moudahir had attacked his estate and burned it, plundered all his property, and slain his son. His Majesty, the Conqueror of the World, appointed Ali Kish Humadila, with three thousand horse, to avenge the injury which the Moudahir had done to the petitioner. . . . Nearly a thousand of the Moudahir were killed, and a thousand men, women, and children taken prisoners. The slaughter was great, and there was a heap of severed heads; and Mohan was taken alive. An account of the conquest of the village was sent to the Sultan. The village had been fully inhabited for no less than 160 years in the province of Khatul; but was then ruined and will continue to be, a desert, and has never been inhabited again, although 160 years have elapsed since its destruction. When the prisoners were brought to Delhi, all the women were given to the Mughals. The offending Moudahir was buried in the earth up to his waist, and then pierced to death with arrows. Such was the respect for the army which this produced amongst the people of Bahari that thousands on one ventured either to rebel or desert.'

Apart from this, he also did what was necessary, in order to ensure speedy communication between the principal parts of his dominions, e.g. he took care to maintain intact the Grand Trunk Road between Ajla and Elbat, establishing a regular series of post-

houses, at a distance of about fifteen miles from each other, and stationed relays of six horses and proper officers at each.¹

Perkins says, "Whenever he marched, he always carried enough to be measured after him, a custom which prevails among the Emperors of Hindustan to this day, and the statute he made concerning the measurement of distance has hitherto remained in force . . . The *pir Sikander* or yard of Sikander, which prevailed when he reached India was superseded by the *Siberi gar*² which continued in use till the beginning of the reign of Jahangir *Shikoh*."³

Being a man of high æsthetic tastes, Babur also delighted in erecting beautiful lago and buildings, aqueducts and bridges. "On April 1500," he writes "I every day employed on my palace 600 persons; and in April, 1501, Bakhra, Disupta, Gadhra and Kori, there were every day employed on my works 1400 slave-craftsmen."

Alfred Yildiz writes: "In the second year of His Majesty's reign a beautiful garden was made on the borders of the river Jumal . . . he passed his time in that garden, in company with Magial companions and friends, in pleasure and enjoyment and throwing in the presence of enchanting dancing-girls with ruy checks, who sang tunes, and displayed their accomplishments" Ibrim, Kismet also prepared a splendid garden similar to this in Lahore.

He came to a country that was rich beyond the dreams of Asia. "The chief sufficiency of Hindustan," he noted, "is that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver." This brought him a large revenue, without the old machinery of collection, and no new organization of Babur's creation. So, "the countries from Beluch to Bihar, which are now under my dominion, yield a revenue of 22 lakhs (millions), as will appear from the particular and detailed statement. Of this amount, *panagana* is the value of 6 or 7 lakhs in the possession of some *khans* or *Rajahs*, who from

1. Pathways were constructed into Hindustan for the first time they not having been in use before." *Ibid.*, p. 38.

2. He fixed 100 *mas* for 1 *gar*.

1 *mas* = 40 *guz*.

1 *gar* = 5 (masals or feet).

or 1 *gar* = 4000 *yards* = now 2½ miles. (Bills, II, pp. 46-7).

3. *Ibid.*

4. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 34.

old times have been extensive, and have insured their persons for the purpose of confining them to their churches.¹

So much we are able to learn from Bhabar's own direct testimony, the rest is mostly inference.² However, the following abstract of the description of Bhabar's administration by Hutton, ought to prove useful to the reader:—

1. Hist. IV, p. 363, also Edward Thomas, *Chronicle of the Pothohar Kings of Delhi* pp. 387-88. "Everything considered," Bhabar got it at "£4,250,000 as the amount of Bhabar's annual revenue; a very large sum when the working of the *Assam* mines had not yet produced its full effect." Bhabar, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

Thomas estimates at £10,000,000 Bhabar's tribute at £1,000,000. Now it may also be pointed out that Bhabar was responsible for the introduction of *imperial* coinage in India.

"The practice of striking coin in *subordinate* cities," Thomas writes "also appears to have been an innovation introduced by the *Maghahs*, who drew a wise distinction between the importance of the lower currency of copper and money fabricated from the more costly gold or silver. The absence of the Sultan's name (which indicates a distinction from Indian practice, under which we have uniformly seen the designations of supreme authority impressed upon the copper money equally with the coins of higher value).

Bhabar's introduction of so much of the leading coinage of his Day had money like *Khushd* was destined to be treated with more or less success as the coin of the year, whose standard he adopted than in that of his more elaborately executed *dirhams* and *shahis* in which he mirrored royal coinage.

"The average weight of the pieces of this class is very uniform at something over 140 grains, a total we have frequently met with in the earlier coins of the Pothohar group, 50 of which went to the old *naika* 4 to the modified *Shahd*, and 12 to the foreign *Shahi* and *Sikh Zais*." (*ib. p.* 364).

2. We also get occasional glimpses of Bhabar's administration in evidence from the *Shahd* in Ahmad Yildiz's *Pothohar-Dehli-Ajibdar*—

"That district was entirely subdued, from one end to the other and collection was appointed in various places. Gates were raised for receiving tribute and mining money, and a pipe was bestowed upon the *hath* with *Shahd*."

The *Maghahs*, who had for many years desired the possession of *Khushd*, at last possessed it. Amir *Khushd*, being a person of importance, and possessing the chief authority amongst the governors and his dependents like those of the *Salt* *Shahd*." (*CE & D*, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 22-23).

3. *Review*, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

Over a great portion of his dominions outside India, especially in the more inaccessible hills and isolated valleys, his army was hardly admitted by the rude tribes that traversed them, and pacification was attended with some easy acknowledgment, which was treated as tribute. In upper and lower Sindh the khutab was used in his name, but though his supremacy was acknowledged, he had little direct power. To the east of the Indus, all the Punjab, including Multan, and to the south and east of the Satlej, the rich provinces of Hindustan lying between the river and Bihar on the one side, and the Hindkya mountains and the countries of the Rajputs and of Malwa on the other, were subject to him, the western boundary being nearly a line marked by the fortresses of Basian, Ramanathpur, Gwalior, and Chanderi. On the south towards Bengal, the limits of his authority are not well defined. Though he possessed the greater part of Tibet, some portions of it, especially the fully or wooded parts of the country, were still held by the remnants of the Aikhyas or by native chiefs. On the frontier of his Empire the Rajput principalities, the shattered kingdom of Malwa, Bundelkhand, and Bengal were still independent states.

There was little uniformity in the political situation of the different parts of this vast Empire. Each kingdom, each province, each district, and (we may almost say) every village, was governed in ordinary matters, by its peculiar customs. The higher officers of government exercised not only civil but criminal jurisdiction, even in capital cases, with little form and under little restraint.

'We have very imperfect means of knowing what were the uses then tried. The chief revenue was the land-tax directly paid on the land in fully settled and quiet provinces; but where the country remained under its native chiefs, or was not fully subdued, was drawn by the Emperor in the shape of an annual tribute.

Though frequently the officers of the army or government were rewarded by *shiqs* or estates, over which they had very often jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, their legal power over the land itself did not extend to a property in the soil, but the usufruct of such rights as belonged to the government. The *regent* or *holder* of the *shiq*, was properly in Muselman times, merely an officer of government, and removable at pleasure, except where the grant had been made hereditary.

Besides the land tax, there was a duty levied on the frontier, on goods imported by caravans or otherwise. The *tongka*, or stamp,

was the mark by which, on cattle and on goods, the payment of the duties was ascertained. These were lowest duties on merchandise transported from one part of the country to another. There was a shop-tax, chiefly in towns, and, in parts of the country where the Mughalrulers had a confirmed and safe ascendancy the *Pasai* or poll-tax was levied on all who were not Musalmans.¹

Bābur was, with all his virtues, a Musalman Emperor. When he had looted the Pagoda (as he called the Hindu) he piled up a pyramid of their skulls, at least for the delinquents of his orthodox followers. He justified the war against the Rājputs as *Jihad* or 'holy war' and assumed the title of *Chāhid* after his victory at Rājghat. He spoke of the self-immolation of the Rājputs at Chitōr as 'going to hell.' When he remitted the tongue after his penitence and vow to reconquer was, it was only Musalmans who were exempted from it, and not the Hindus. After the fall of Chitōr, as Ferishta tells us, he 'did not fail to rebuild and repair the temples in Chitōr, Srirangpā, Rāntambhor and Hāmra, which had been partly destroyed and otherwise injured by being converted into cathedrals, by Mōlay Rāi's orders.' Bābur himself stated on his conquest of Chitōr, that he converted 'the mansion of hostility' into 'a mansion of faith.' All these facts make it difficult to accept the too liberal policy outlined in the *Shahjāh Nāma*,² ascribed to Bābur.

1. Cf. "Bābur and the Hindus" by S. K. Banerj in the *Journal of the U. P. Soc. Sci.* IX, pt. II, 1916.

2. It reads—

'O my real People of diverse religious beliefs, India, and it is a matter of thanksgiving to God that the King of Kings has returned the government of the country to you.

H. Therefore believe you that—

(I) You should not allow religious prejudices or influence your mind and administer impartial justice, having due regard to religious exempted rights.

(ii) In particular refrain from the slaughter of cows which will help you to obtain a hold on the hearts of the people of India: that you will bind the people of the land to yourself by ties of gratitude.

(iii) You should never destroy places of worship of any community and always be remembering so that relations between the King and his subjects may remain cordial and thereby secure peace and contentment in the land.

(iv) The propagation of faith will be better carried on with the sword of law and obligation than with the sword of oppression.

But to say this is not to allege the contrary. Elphinstone was beyond question a man of deep faith in God; but his belief in India must have set comparatively light on his mind. He had absorbed his orthodox and became a Hindu as was the majority of the Sikhs of Persia to his core.¹ At the same time, he had refused to persecute his quondam orthodox co-religionists at the command of his newly accepted sovereign. There is no evidence of his ever having destroyed a Hindu temple or otherwise persecuted the Hindus on account of their religion. On the other hand, there is at least one reference to his equal recognition of the Hindu and Turko-Afghan who had laboured in his service.

'On Thursday, the 19th Shaban, I called the Afghs', he writes, 'both Turk and Hindu, to a council, and took their opinion about passing the river.' This was during his last campaign, in Bengal (1808).

At least six Hindu Sikhs, and among them Raja Bhikramjee of Ramnathpur (second son of Raja Saugor), accepted Elphinstone's sway, and paid their tribute.²

To conclude:—Unfortunately Elphinstone, being no administrative genius, but a plain warrior with statesmanlike instincts, found it necessary to carry on the administrative plan which he found already in existence namely, that of parcelling the dominions among his officers, with the understanding that each was responsible for the good order of the districts under his control. The consequences of this plan had always been the same: the mortality, having ceased

1. See the Appendix to this volume.

(v) Always ignore the mutual dissensions of Sikhs and Saugor, otherwise they will lead to the ruin of India.

(vi) Treat the different population of your subjects in the different seasons of the year, so that the body politic may remain free from disease.

This is a translation by Dr. Syed Mahmood, of a document in the Bhopal Sans Library supposed to be Elphinstone's confidential will and testament to his son Hamidulla. (*The Indian Review*, Aug. 1881). For the text and a more recent version of the same see *The Fourteenth Century* for January 1922 pp. 229-44.

3. Dr. Deydman Ross, while characterising Elphinstone as a 'rigid Hindu', also appreciates his 'moral courage' in adopting the Quilash heretodoxy in the conversion, through him, a 'purely political' motive. See C. H. I. IV, p. 126.

4. E. & D., op. cit. IV, pp. 362-364. Cf. E. M. Schwartz, *Elphinstone in India and Delhi*, pp. 40-41.

(ii) *Maṣṣafat-Nawāʾ* of Khadkandār, also called *Kawāʾid-Nawāʾiyāh*. The author was intimately acquainted with Hamaḍyāh and died in Gafedā in 1534-5 during Hamaḍyāh's campaign there. It gives some "curious accounts of the regulations established by Hamaḍyāh in the early part of his reign. The writer received from the Emperor the title of *Asmaʾ-i-Akhlāq* or 'the noble historian'."

(iii) *Taḥṣīn-al-Wafāʾ* of Jachar, Hamaḍyāh's personal attendant, who wrote his autobiography 30 years later, in Akbar's reign. Prof. Grierson considers this work "a highly authoritative history of the reign of Hamaḍyāh, and having greater weight than that of Gafedā even"—at least up to Hamaḍyāh's departure from Thatta to Kandahār. The work deals with the rest of his career as well. Jachar's own preface is worth quotation.

"I was at all times, and in all stations, in constant attendance on the royal person, it therefore devolved to me as desirable that I should write a narrative of all the events to which I had been an eye witness, that it may remain as a record of the past interesting occurrences. I have endeavored to explain them to the best of my humble ability, although in a style very inferior to the dignity of the subject. I commenced this work in the year 955 (A. D. 1567) and have named it the *Taḥṣīn-al-Wafāʾ* or *Relation of Occurrences*."

"The Manners bear all the appearance of truth and honesty, and are to a great degree exempt from that exaggeration and fulsome eulogy to which Oriental Biographies are prone." (Doonon.)

(iv) *Taḥṣīn-i-Akhlāq* of Mirza Hachar, already noticed, is also valuable for its intimate studies of Hamaḍyāh. Mirza Hachar wrote his work relating to Hamaḍyāh in 1561-62 A.D. He was personally present at the battle of the Ganges (Bhagdan or Kanauj), when Hamaḍyāh fought against Sher Shāh. After this disastrous rout at Kanauj, he endeavored to induce Hamaḍyāh to return a refugee to Kandahār.

(v) *Taḥṣīl-i-Akhlāq* of Nāṣir-u-din Akbar is a very interesting work. The chapter on Hamaḍyāh is the most valuable for us here. "His style has a simple elegance, natural flow and charm of its own unrivalled for many generations." *Nāṣir-u-din* was *ḥakīm* under Akbar and his father had served under Hamaḍyāh. The incentive for writing it was that he had "from his youth, according to the advice of his father, devoted himself to the study of works

of history, which are the means of strengthening the understanding; of men of education, and of affording instruction by examples to men of observation.'

Doornik observes: "This is one of the most celebrated histories of India, and is the first that was composed upon a new model, in which India alone forms the subject-matter of the work, to the exclusion of other Asiatic countries. The work seems to have been recognised by all contemporary historians as a standard history; subsequent writers also have held it in the highest estimation, and have borrowed from it freely. . . . Forbell states that of all the histories he consulted, it is the only one he found complete."

B. Spinkwater: *Eastern*, 'History of India under the two First Sovereigns of the House of Tanash, Shihir and Hamsalya,' Vol. II

Dr. S. K. Banerj, *Samajya Itihas*, (Calcutta: 1916). This contains a good bibliography on Hamsalya at the end.

More—For other works bearing on the life of Hamsalya see 'works' item on Star 204.

CHAPTER III

THE EMPIRE IN TRANSITION

'The world is he who seeks himself.'

'Fall not to quit yourself arrogantly to men; every
contingency: mischance and even agony is with friendship.'

—Sanskrit to Hamsalya

The Empire whose foundation was so laboriously laid by Shihir was nevertheless precarious and unstable in character. The strength and security of an such depend upon its lay-foundation; in the present case it was too weak to hold on steadily for long. The story of Hamsalya's life and re-acquisition of his heritage are not less fascinating than the adventures of his father. They are also instructive in showing the vital dependence of the Empire on the personal character of the monarch.

Hamsalya's life divides itself into four clear periods: (I) Early life, up to his Accession (1500-50); (II) Struggle to maintain his Inheritance (1550-60); (III) Fifteen Years of Exile (1560-1575); and (IV) Restoration and Death (1575-80).

I. EARLY LIFE (1858-59)

Hamdyin was born on Zaidhah 4, 913 AH (March 4, 1890) in the citadel of Khart.

(1) Birth and Accession. He mounted the throne, at Khart, on First Jumadh 3, 927 AH (December 26, 1890) at

the age of twenty-three—four days after the death of Babir.

Khawassan¹ writes: "The hand of the kindness of the Creator of Souls and Substances put the happy robe of royalty on the person of this able monarch, the Conqueror of the World. On Friday the 26th of the rainy month, in the first Month at April the Khalid was read in the name and title of this noble King, and the noise of congratulations which arose from the crowd of the people resounded beyond the heavens."

The Tabakhah-Akbar records: "On the death of the Emperor Babir, Prince Hamdyin, who arrived from Samkhal, ascended the throne at April with the support of Amir Mahmud-din Ali Khan, on the 26th Jumada-ul-awwal, 927 H. The officers expressed their devotion, and the chiefs and officers were treated with great kindness. The mansabs and offices which were held under the last sovereign were confirmed, and the royal favour made every one happy and contented."

(2) Appointment. On the death of his cousin, Khin Minak, in 1893, Hamdyin, at the age of twelve, was appointed to the government of Badakhshan. Babir himself visited the province, together with Hamdyin's mother to install the young Prince in his first charge.

(3) When Babir reached India, in 1894, Hamdyin joined him with a contingent from Badakhshan.

(4) In this campaign, too, Hamdyin won his maiden victory over a force from Hindu-Pinon, which was on its way to join Ibrahim Lodi (1894).²

¹ See (1) (2) in Khawassan's introduction to

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 108.

2. Ali Khan had inherited Malik Khwaja's position; for the circumstances under which he apparently changed his mind see E. & D., loc. cit., V, pp. 107-8. Note also on the same page the discrepancy in the computation of dates in terms of the Christian era. The consistency of the notice referred to here must have been lost, since deep in the core of several of them.

3. In a footnote to Babir's *Itinerary*, Hamdyin writes that on March 8, 1894 he was at Samkhal, on the left bank of the Samkhal, on his

(d) After Pilsnet, Hamayun, who had played his part well, received a great diamond and gifts worth 720,000 *ahar* (about £25,000).

(e) Hamayun then, after this, led the army against the Afghan insurgents in the east, and captured Samihai, Jirapit, Gushala, and Kilpi.

(f) At the battle of Khanas (1587) Hamayun led the right wing of the Moghul army and was well rewarded.¹

(g) In 1588, when he was back in Badakhshan Babur wrote to him (Nov. 12) to advance with the support of his brothers to 'Haid, Samarkand, or Merv, as may be most available'. This is the time for you to court danger and hardship, and show your valour in arms. 'Fall not to quit yourself strenuously to meet every emergency; patience and ease agree ill with knighthood.' He also exhorted him much good advice in the same letter, urging Hamayun, among other things, 'to act handsomely by his brother Khanas; not to complain of treachery in Badakhshan, as it was unworthy of a prince; to consult his wife and ministers, particularly Khadija Khatun, to avoid private parties; but to call the court to public levees twice daily; and above all to keep up the strength and discipline of the army.'²

In spite of all this care and anxiety on the part of Babur,

Hamayun precipitately returned to India in

(h) Return to India. 1589 Babur thus enthusiastically describes the advent of his son: "I was just talking with his

mother about him when he came. His presence opened our hearts like coals, and made our eyes shine like torches. It was my rule to keep open table every day, but on this occasion, I gave feasts in his honour, and showed him every kind of distinction. We lived together for some time in the greatest intimacy. The truth is that his conversation had the greatest intimacy. The truth is that his

way to Pilsnet, and that same day the same or visitors were first applied to his head." As my beloved father continued in the conversation the time of his first using the razor, in friendly emulation of him I have noted the same behaviour regarding myself. I was then eighteen years of age. Now that I am forty-two, I, Muhammad Hamayun am transcribing a copy of these *Masawir* from the copy in his late Majesty's own handwriting!—(Lans-Park, op. cit., p. 46 n.).

1. *Wala Khatun* (Mirat), Hamir Khan Mirat's possession.

2. *Lans-Park*, loc. cit., p. 127.

convention had no inseparable claims, and he refused absolutely the idea of perfect equality.¹ But why did Hamdyān desert his charge?

The reasons were three: (i) His own failure against the Udsupī who were making fresh incursions; (ii) Akkara's (a) illness, (b) his falling health, and his call to him from Kāhān to be by his side; and (iii) the conspiracy of April to supersede Hamdyān.

The last was in favour of Mīr Mahammad Mahdī Khaykī who was Akkara's brother-in-law (sister's husband), and who had been in charge of the left wing of the Mughal army at the battle of Kāhān, where Hamdyān led the right wing. The origin and details of this intrigue are of little value to us, since it proved abortive. But as Huchinscock Williams observes, "that the scheme should have been considered feasible at all is eloquent testimony of Akkara's feebleness in body and mind."² He also contradicts Mīr Husayn's statement that Akkara had recalled Hamdyān, for which he gives the following reasons:—(i) The appearance of Hamdyān at Ajlū surprised everyone at Ajlū. (ii) Akkara was expecting Hamdī, and would never have recalled both sons at the same time. (iii) No successor had been settled upon to occupy the governorship of Badakhshān. (iv) Hamdyān was asked by his father to return to his charge.³

Hamdyān had not Khaykī and Hamdī at Kāhān; and they had agreed that, in case of the grave emergency which was about at Ajlū, Hamdyān should hasten to the capital and Hamdī should take his place at Badakhshān. Ultimately Akkara sent Scheimā Mīrāl to that distant province.

The rest of the story has already been told. The conspiracy capped in the end. Hamdyān spent some time on his estate in Samīrān. Then followed his illness and Akkara's affectionate service on Monday 26, 1830. Before this happened Akkara had commended Hamdyān to his nobles in unmistakable terms: "Now when I am

1. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

2. Huchinscock Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 172 n. 2. Cf. S. K. Basmī, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3. The circumstances that attended Hamdyān's mission have been well observed by Dr. Basmī in Ch. II of his book. The date of Hamdyān's mission was 26 Dec. 1830 (i.e. four days after Akkara's death) is also accounted for by him.

had been by others, I charge you to acknowledge Humayun as my emperor, and to remain loyal to him. Be of one heart and mind towards him, and I hope to God that Humayun will also bear himself well towards you."

But, no sooner was Bābur's breath stifled in death, or, to use Elizabethan's phrase, "left the throne of this world for the eternal heaven," than Humayun's troubles began.

II STRUGGLE TO MAINTAIN HIS INHERITANCE (1550-40)

Bābur had bequeathed to Humayun "a compass of territories, unbounded by any bond of union or of connection,"¹ **Political Situation.** none nearer, except that which had been embodied in his life. In a word, when he died, the

Mughal dynasty like the Muhammadan dynasty which had preceded it, had sent down no roots into the soil of Hindustan.² Bābur had not annexed Bengal to the east, nor the great provinces of Malwa and Gujarat, now united under one king (Bahadur Shah), to the south. The many chiefs of Rajputana were owed but not subdued, and in most of the outlying parts of the kingdom the Mughal power was but slightly recognized.³

(a) AFGHANIS

Numerous Afghan officers still held powerful fiefs, and these men had not forgotten that the kings of Delhi had been Afghans but a few years before. When a member of the deposed dynasty (Sulṭān Mahmūd Lodī) appeared amongst them in India, there were all the materials for a formidable insurrection. Thus, even in his inherited dominions—about an eighth part of all India—Humayun was not secure from rebels and rivals.⁴

The principal rallying centre for these Afghans who were all "ripe for revolt", was

(1) Mahmūd Lodī: the brother of Bahadur, whom Bābur had driven away but not crushed. He was supported by the old heads of the Afghan nobility, Durrān and Shamsīdī, who though lately driven into the recesses of the eastern provinces and of India,

¹ Malabar, *Admiral*, p. 45.

² For a more detailed appreciation of the situation read S. K. Sumji, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-31.

³ Lach-Powell, *Mahmūd Lodī*, pp. 230-31.

were only waiting for a fit opportunity to return and re-occupy the kingdom from which they had been expelled. The King of Bengal, who had married a sister of Mahomed Lodī, also supported him.

(ii) *Shēr Khān Shāh*, who was 'the most capable, energetic and ambitious man in the whole Afghan party,' had passed the rebel area during the last days of Hīshar, although the latter had 'bestowed on him many marks of favour, and given him several purposes and put him in command in the east.' He looked upon the Mughals with great contempt as indicated by his following statement:—

"If fortune favours me, I can drive these Mughals back out of Hindustān; they are not our superiors in war, but we let slip the power that we had by reason of our dissensions. Since I have been among the Mughals, I have observed their conduct and found them lacking in order and discipline, while those who profess to lead them, in the pride of birth and rank, neglect the duty of supervision, and leave everything to officers whom they blindly trust. These subordinates act corruptly in every way; they are led by lust of gain, and make no distinction between soldier and civilian, foe or friend."

Fair or otherwise, this estimate only serves to reveal the ambition and attitude of Shēr Khān, who was soon to drive Humāyūn into exile and occupy his throne.

(iii) *Alam Khān* or *Alau-d dīn Lodī*, the uncle of Daulat Khān, was one of those that invited Hīshar to India, fought against him capture at Thātpat. He had later fallen into disgrace and was confined in a fort in Badakhshān. Since the death of Hīshar, *Alau-d dīn* had effected his escape, and sought refuge with *Babdur Shāh* of Gajni.

"Without any open declaration of war with Humāyūn, *Babdur Shāh* liberally supplied *Alau-d dīn* with money, and enabled him, in a very short time, to assemble a large force, and to send it against Agra, under his son *Tahir Khān*. This army, so hastily collected, was as speedily dispersed; and *Tahir Khān* left in haste, at the head of a division which remained faithful to the doctrine."

The career of *Babdur Shāh*, up to the death of Hīshar, has already been described in detail in the first chapter. He gave shelter

1. *Kennet*, op. cit., p. 95.

2. *Erskine*, op. cit., p. 145.

not merely to attack the Lodi, but also to smother all Shams-puri's rivals, presently to be notified. Briefly, besides the prestige and power he had acquired over his northern neighbours, Bakhshar Shāh who was ruler of Gujarat and Malabar, "was actively pursuing his triumphs over the Rajputs and rapidly approaching within striking distance of Agra".

(7) COUSINS AND BROTHERS

Besides the Afghans, Humāyūn had rivals and enemies nearer home.

(i) *Mahmūd Zāwib* was the grandson of Sultan Husayn of Herat, and had married his cousin *Ma'suma*, a step-daughter of Humāyūn. He had shown himself a capable general in Bābur's campaigns.

(ii) *Mahmūd Jalāl Afshar* was also a descendant of Timur and grandson of the late Sultan of Khwarizm by a daughter. From his royal birth and status, he too was considered worthy to aspire to the throne.

(iii) *Mir Mahammad Mirzā Khawāh*, a brother-in-law of Bābur, the abortive conspiracy in whose favour has already been noted. Bābur's prime-minister and life-long friend *Khawāh* was

1. "He earnestly wished for some political trouble to entangle the Emperor in the eastern provinces, so that his attention and energy might be directed to that quarter, and Bakhshar might then be given a free hand to deal with the Rajputs. He secured the eastern borders of Humāyūn and won the decisive gathering in South Bihar which leded it to the Moghul Empire. He thought of subduing Sher Khan and making use of his rising power to keep the Emperor busy in that quarter." (*Qutub-ush-Sharq*, p. 106).

2. He was the husband of Bābur's half sister, *Khawāh Begum*. (*Chahar Maqalat*, Writings, no. 44, p. 174.) Both *Alamgir Nigāsh* and *Mahmūd al-Mu'ayyad* however (in the passage cited in n. 2 below) speak of him as Bābur's cousin-in-law. (*IL & DP*, no. 101, p. 163.) Both *Qutub-ush-Sharq* and *Khawāh-nāma* describe him as brother-in-law. See S. K. Razvi, op. cit., p. 24.

3. His half name was '*Jalāl Mahmūd al-Mirzā Khawāh*'. The *Fatah-nāma* of Bābur states—*Jalāl Mahmūd al-Mirzā Khawāh* was chief administrator of the State, and in consequence of some things which had occurred in the course of worldly business, he had a dread and suspicion of the young prince Humāyūn and was violently in his succession. And if he was not friendly with the state was, neither was he favourable to the promotion of the younger. *Mahmūd Khawāh* was another (1) of the late

interested in him. He was in command of a division of the army, and belonged to the nobility of religion. At Khama, as we have seen, he was put in charge of the left wing, as Hamayun led the right wing. So with the army he had enjoyed equality of status with the recent Emperor.

(iv) Karam Mizar was the most dangerous of all Hamayun's brothers. He was in charge of Edhel and Karakömr at the time of Mizar's death. Mizar, as we have noticed, had commanded Hamayun 'to act harshly by his brother Karamin.' Askari and Hindi were the other two brothers of Hamayun. Eghisizade remarks: "From his having assigned no share to his younger children, it is probable that Mizar did not intend to divide the Empire; but Karamin showed no disposition to give way to his brother, and as he was in possession of a strong and warlike country among the hereditary subjects of his family, he had a great advantage over Hamayun, who could not assemble an army without evacuating his own and disaffected provinces." "Over weak and shifty," says Lane-Poole, "Askari and Hindi were dangerous only as tools for ambitious men to play upon."¹

(v) MILITARY WEAKNESS OF HAMAYUN

Surrounded as Hamayun was with able and powerful enemies on every side what was most necessary to him was 'a firm grasp of the military situation and resolution to meet it'. Both these qualities, Hamayun lamentably lacked. "It was a situation that called for boundless energy and soldierly genius." On the north-west was Karamin "a rarely ill-conditioned warrior, unworthy of Mizar's seat," and the most formidable of Hamayun's brothers. On the east were the Egyptians under Muhammad Lodi and Sher Khia. On the south was Sultdar Bakh, supporting the pretensions.

The army was not a national one, connected by common language and country, but a mixed body of adventurers, Chaghan

Emperor and was a generous and liberal young man. He was very friendly with Mir Khalil, who had promised to take him to the throne. The fact became generally known, and several of the soldiers took part with Miral Khalil. He also fell in with the Mir, and began to esteem highly the CF & D, op. cit. 1.

¹ Eghisizade, op. cit., p. 442.

² Lane Poole, op. cit., p. 322.

³ Ibid., p. 328.

Uzbek, Magyar, Persian, Afghan, and Indian. Even the Chaghatay chieft, who had enjoyed most of the Emperor's confidence and favor, was not perfectly trustworthy. Though attached to the family of Rûkur, as the representatives of that revered prince and of the great Timur, yet no eminent chief or head of a tribe considered the common stuff as beyond the range of his ambition. It was the age of revolution; and the kingdoms on every side.—Persian, Russian, Hind, Bokhara, India, Balkh and Heratistan itself—were the theatres occupied by adventurers, or the immediate descendants of adventuring, not more distinguished than themselves. Under such circumstances, a thousand unforeseen accidents might occur to bring the smouldering embers of struggle and faction into a flame.¹

All such a crisis, the personal character of the prince was a matter of great importance. But Humayûn, though he possessed all the heroic virtues of his great father, lamentably lacked "the decision and spirit of command, without which no prince can wear the respect and confidence of his subjects." He was too gentle and good to be successful in such an age and under such circumstances; his failure was in no small measure due to his "beautiful but not wise slowness." Instead of taking a statesmanlike view of the situation, making the most pressing danger first, and crossing one perilous before he engaged another, he frittered away his army in divided commands, and deprived it of its full strength. He left one army wrecked behind him while he turned to meet another; and when victory by chance attended his courage, rather than his tactics, he repaid upon his laurels and made merry with his friends while his foes used the precious time in gathering their forces for a fresh effort. . . . Humayûn's troops were still the men who had won Delhi and defeated Rûkur Sanga, and Rûkur's generals were still in command of their divisions. But Humayûn weakened their valour and destroyed their confidence by division and vacillation, neglected the counsels of the commanders, and displayed such indecision that it is a marvel that any army still adhered to his falling fortunes."²

On the day of Humayûn's accession, Mirza-din Ali Akbar writes, "Mirza Hadrat arrived from Badakhshan and was received with great kindness. He was gratified with the grant of two of the treasures

¹ *Diwan* of the Emperor

1. *Erkân*, op. cit., pp. 2-4.

2. *Kutub-Makûl*, op. cit., p. 322.

(40) *Kharakia*) of former lands. The territories were then divided: (i) *Mirza Hamid* received the district of *Mirat* (*Ahmed*) in *ajgar*; (ii) the *Pargahs*, *Kohat*, and *Kandahar* were settled as the *ajgar* of *Mirza Karam*; (3) *Sarikhai* was given to *Mirza Asad*; (iv) 4000 one of the *Astis* also received an increase of his *ajgar*; (v) According to the *Ahmed Nihai*, *Mirza Salim* was confirmed in *Badrabad*.

Note—The great blunder in this distribution was in leaving the perfidious *Kharakia* in charge of the most vital part of *Bilau's* dominions. By this device *Hamid* was left to govern a new conquest, while he was deprived of the resources by which it had been gained, and by which it might have been also retained. "It was a mistake on *Hamid*'s part," writes Dr. *Ishtvan Prasad*, "to make these concessions, because they created a barrier between him and the lands beyond the *Alpata* hills. *Kharakia* could henceforward, as *Franklin* *Wilkes* observed, cut the tap-root of his military power by merely stopping where he was. Besides, the cause of *Hamid-Nizam* was a blunder, for it gave *Kharakia* command of the new military road which ran from *Delhi* to *Kandahar*."¹

III. EARLY ENCOUNTERS

(1) "After arranging the affairs of the State, His Majesty, proceeded to *Kilgash*, the title of which place exposed his intent, and ranged himself among the supporters of the throne."

1. "At first he had been confined in his promises of *Kilal* and *Kandahar* alone. But *Kharakia* not being satisfied, left *Kandahar* in the possession of *Asad*, and marched for *Badrabad*. *Hamid* then added *Pargahs* and *Langhan* to his gain. "But *Kharakia's* aims were too extensive to be satisfied even with that acquisition." He soon marched up to and occupied *Lahore* as well. *Hamid*, surprised as he was with great difficulties, returned him to his new acquisition. A friend was accordingly raised, bestowing on *Kharakia* the government of *Mirat*, *Kandahar* and the *Pargahs*: "a grant which enabled that place to the possession of dominions and power nearly equal to his own." *Kharakia*, who had a taste for poetry, favoured *Hamid* with a few verses and absented out of him the rich province of *Badrabad* as well. This was an important grant and most welcome to *Kharakia*, as it lay nearly on the high road between his possessions in the *Pargahs* and *Delhi*.

2. *Ishtvan Prasad* op. cit., p. 226; *Hyphostoma*, op. cit., p. 401.

3. According to *Badrabad*, this fort was captured after a siege lasting for a month—(E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 186, n. 3). The date assigned is May/June, 1521—(*Erskin*, op. cit., II, p. 50). See S. K. Dasgupta, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

(a) 'In those days, Sultan Mahmūd (son of Sulṭān Iskandar Lodi), with the assistance of Bihār, Bayanūd, and the Afghan nobles, had raised the standard of opposition, and had taken possession of Jaunpūr and its dependencies. Harkiyāl now marched to retake him, and having achieved success,¹ he returned victorious to Āgrā. There he held a great festival, and all the nobles and chiefs were honoured with robes and Arab horses. It is said that 12,000 persons received robes at that time, and 2,000 of them were presented with outer-garments of gold brocade and gilt buttons.'

Note—Though such pomp was not unknown to Bihār, Harkiyāl's already depleted treasury could ill afford such extravagance.

1 Sultan Mahmūd Lodi and his Afghan supporters were defeated at Dargah on the river Ganges, about 48 miles north of Jaunpūr. Abū Khān mentions the place as Lucknow. Dargah is mentioned by Jauhar. The following two extracts from these writers give the details.

'His Majesty (Harkiyāl),' writes Jauhar, 'after successful marches reached Dargah on the river Ganges, when the above-mentioned rebels, with a large army, came towards that place, the rebels were defeated. Bihār, Bikanēr, and all the chiefs and refractory men were slain' (referred by Ganga, op. cit., p. 72).

'The two armies,' says Abū Khān, 'met near Lucknow. As Abū Bikanēr had drunk more wine than he could bear, and had got drunk and confused, he also was slain in that battle. Sulṭān Mahmūd and other chiefs, being defeated, fled to the kingdom of Bihār. The Sultan had rather many war territory to retake; a force of his men and his nobles who had placed him on the throne were most of them killed in the battle at Lucknow, while the few who remained were from their quarters dispersed. Sulṭān Mahmūd was greatly grieved by this, and passed most of his time in weeping himself, and as he had no power to oppose the Mughals, he abdicated his equity, and settled himself in the province of Feroz, and never again attempted the throne'—E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 110.

2. E.g. 'In the third year, His Majesty (Shah) proceeded towards Lihōr. At Lihōr he was met by the Rājā of Kāthiā, who presented him seven lakhs, and three mans of gold, and was conferred in the amān² of that place. When the King's camp reached Lihōr, Muzāf Khān also was brought to the presence, and he brought the emissaries of the country to lose the hat of the conqueror of the world. The King's encampment was located in the domains of Lihōr, and the royal tents were pitched in the garden of Muzāf Khān, who gave a magnificent banquet, which lasted three days. At its conclusion, the King left the garden and took his abode in the fort. The whole road thence, from the garden to the gate of the city, was lined by the servants of Muzāf Khān, dressed in silk and brocade, decked like bridegrooms; and the

at this moment of crisis, when he had to fight enemies on all sides. "In the tale of *Hamshyān*," says Rushbrooke Williams, "there is a repetition of the old story of Imperial breakdown, accompanied by revolution, anarchy, and the debasement of a dynasty." Hamshyān's kindness on this occasion was typical of his general extravagance.

(iii) "At this time Muhammad Zandā Mirā, . . . who had originally come from Balch to seek refuge with His late Majesty, now set himself up in opposition, but he was taken prisoner, and was sent as a warning for rebels to the Fort of Baylān, and placed in the custody of Yādgār Tāghān. An order was given to deprive him of sight, but the servants of Yādgār Bēg saved the pupils of his eyes from the effects of the operation. After a short time he made his escape, and fled to Sultān Bahādur of Gajniān."

(iv) "About the same time Muhammad Sulṭān Mirā, with his two sons Liagh Mirā and Sakh Mirā, went off to Kinnay, and there raised a rebellion."

(i) "His Majesty sent a person with letters to Sultān Bahādur of Gajniān demanding the surrender of Muhammad

The Gajniān sent Zandā Mirā, to whom he returned a haughty refusal, and then showed signs of rebellion and resistance.¹ This excited the anger of the Emperor, and

he resolved to march against Gajniān and chastise Sultān Bahādur. He proceeded to Gendār and there passed two months in making arrangements and hunting" (1592).

(ii) When Hamshyān finally marched against Bahādur Sakh, troops, with their gay red and yellow flags, resembling the early spring khyasāns adorned with gilded trappings, covered with pearls, were led in front of the royal entourage. When they entered the city gates, money was thrown to the poor and destitute, and a grand entertainment was given in the palace of Sultān Lāl. The King was pleased with the sight and hunting which the Persians afforded, and he therefore remained there for the space of a year, during which Mirā Bakhā came from Kihil. He was admitted to the presence and treated with marked distinction. When the cold season was over, Mirā Bakhā returned to Kihil, and at the time of his departure he received, as a present from His Majesty two elephants, two horses, perfumes, and jewelled daggers.—(Abdus Sādiq: K & D, op. cit. V, p. 48)

1. Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 107.

2. For an account of the nature of the correspondence between Hamshyān and Bahādur Sakh, and other diplomatic relations see Rawley, op. cit. Ch. X, pp. 66-67.

that prince was long with the reign of Chitor¹ (1514). At the approach of the Emperor he held a council of war. Many officers advised the raising of the siege, but Sadr Khán, who was the chief of the soldiers, observed that they were warring against infidels, and that if a sovereignty of Mussulmans were to attack them while so engaged, he would in effect assist the infidels, and this would excite a vengeance against him among Mussulmans until the Day of Judgment. He therefore advised the continuance of the siege, and would not believe that the Emperor would attack them. 'When the Emperor had passed through Mitha and had come to Shanzayir, he was informed of this, so he rested there.'

Note—This was Humayún's third great blunder. It was a double bluffing: timely assistance might have won over the Rájá as a perpetual ally who might have acted as a bulwark against Chitor; if attacked at once, Bahádur Sháh might perhaps have been crushed at the first blow.

But as it happened, 'Sultán Bahádur carried on the siege of Chitor at his own, and finally took it by storm, and secured an immense booty. In celebration of the victory, he gave a great feast and divided the spoil among his soldiers. Then he turned his front to the Imperial army.'

(iii) Humayún, then, hearing of this, marched against Bahádur Sháh and met him at Mandrásh. The King of Gujarat again called a council of war. Sadr Khán advised giving battle, but Bádr Khán who commanded the artillery, counselled entrenchment so as to give full play to his guns (left) and rockets (right). 'They were very strong in artillery, and except the Emperor of Fátwa, no other potentate could equal them. Sultán Bahádur acquiesced in this view, and ordered an entrenchment to be formed round his camp.'

1. 'The Rájá in his storm departed an enemy to all succour from Humayún. Humayún, thus invaded, moved forward with a considerable army as far as Chitor, as if to assault the Rájá. There he entangled for about two months and asked Bahádur Sháh to desert from his attack on Chitor and give up the reason he was harboring. Humayún desired was complied with. Humayún with some loss of reputation, soon after decamped, compelled to express dissatisfaction in Jaipur and Sháh. The Rájá despoiling of assistance brought peace of Bahádur Sháh (Erskin, op. cit., pp. 14-15).

2. 'Fruited with the recent victory the Gujaratís might probably have overwhelmed Humayún's army, as which the infidels as well as the monks of the deity had started their usual adherents; but the triumph

For two months Hamdyin did nothing but out of the regions of the enemy. Parties roamed in the enemy's camp. "The horses and animals and many men perished from want, and the army was demoralized. When Sultan Balidar perceived that if he remained longer he would be taken prisoner, he went off by the rear of the pavilion and went towards Miledô with five of his most trusty adherents. When his men heard of his escape, they took to flight."

(iv) Hamdyin pursued Balidar Shih to Miledô and besieged the fort. "Sultan Balidar was asleep when the alarm was raised. A general panic followed and the Gagarich took to flight. Sultan Balidar made off with two or six horsemen towards Gagarich, and Sadr Khân and Sultan Alam (Lodi) threw themselves into the fort of Sagar, which is the cradle of Miledô. Next day they came out, and were conducted to the presence of the Emperor. They were both wounded. Sadr Khân was placed in confinement and an order was given for cutting off the feet of Alam Khân."

(v) "Three days after, the Emperor left the fort and marched on towards Gagarich. Sultan Balidar had much treasure and many jewels in the fort of Châmplain, and these he carried off to Aknâ-shidâ (He set fire to the town before leaving Châmplain). Hamdyin pursued him up to Canbay. On his way he took Aknâ-shidâ, which being plundered yielded enormous spoil." Balidar Shih ultimately escaped to the island of Iou."

Note—Hamdyin, instead of following up his success and dealing with the fugitive, marched to Châmplain. This was his fourth blunder.

(vi) Châmplain² was an double town (1535-6), Hamdyin burned with Baran Khân visiting the fort at night its most strongly

of the heavy artillery in the siege of Canton had given under night to the advice of the German engineer, the 'Mîed Khân,' who had visited the guns with the help of the Portuguese and other European gunners; and, as with the John Burgoyne before Fort Mifflin, the work of the engineer prevailed over the better remarks of the cavalry leaders. (Hans Pöhl, *op. cit.*, p. 324).

1. July 1535. The same day on which he left Canbay, Hamdyin arrived and "encamped on the shore of the salt sea" which none of his successors had ever seen.

2. Châmplain. This important fortress occupies the upper part of a hill that rises sweeping out of the level plain on the north-east portion of

skin, with the help of steel spikes driven into the scarp of the ramp. 'Great numbers of the persons were slain, and many of their wives and children cast themselves down from the walls of the fort and were killed.' Iskandar Khan who held a high position among the Qajaks, was kindly received by the Emperor, who 'made him one of his personal attendants.' He was a man of great knowledge and experience, and had a great reputation as a statesman, an accomplished geometer and astronomer. He was also of some repute as a poet. When the fort was taken, the place where Bahádur Fakh had hidden his treasure was known only to one officer. Husáiyár refused all getting the secret out of him by torture, preferred to make use of wine: the man was invited to an entertainment; and 'when his heart was softened by kindness and warmed with good cheer' he revealed the secret. 'The treasure was found in a vault under the bed of a servant.'

'The gold was divided among the soldiers—to reach a head. The goods and stuffs of Persia, Europe and China, and of every part of the world, which the kings of Gujarat had treasured, all fell a prey to the victors. So vast was the amount of gold and effects that came into the possession of the soldiers, that no person attempted to collect revenue that year in Gujarat.'

(vi) After this, there was a slight rally at Ahmadábád, in favour of Bahádur Fakh. But Míráz Askeri who was at Mahesh nadíah was over them in easy victory. 'More than two thousand men were killed in the battle.'

Qalshah fort is visible over a great part of that province. The fortress is surrounded on several of its sides by steep and nearly perpendicular rocks which have gained for it the reputation of being impregnable to attack operations. It had an upper and a lower fort, the one rising above the other; while the entrance, and at the same time magnificent tower of Mahammadsháh—Changákhá extended on one side along its base. Husáiyár invested it nearly for four months but finally took it in the manner described.

'The great strength of this place, the numerous garrisons, and the boldness and courage of the enterprise by which its capture was achieved' says Ferishta, 'render this action equal, in the opinion of military men to anything of the kind recorded in history'—(Higgs, II, p. 79).

1. Khosrowshah, op. cit., p. 442 a.

2. Cf. Ferishta; Higgs, II, p. 80.

3. The author of this work (Fakhshádháshah) heard from his father who was then master of Míráz Askeri, that at midday, when a war

(iii) After this, the Emperor bestowed Ahmedabad and its dependencies upon Mirza Asaf in jagir, Pithor upon Mirza Yaqub Khan, and Broach upon Mirza Shams Beg. Turb Beg recovered Changanab and Kham Hamtan obtained Baroda. Other Jafan Shiral and other nobles also received grants. The Emperor proceeded with these successes to Barikpore, and from thence to Jhansi.¹

Mitho and Gujarat—two provinces equal in area to all the rest of Humayun's kingdom—had fallen like ripe fruit into his hands. Mitho was conquest so easy. Mitho, too, was conquest more profitably squandered away.² (i. ii. 14, 15.)

Note. This was Humayun's fifth great blunder in the Deccan. Instead of securing the settled government of the conquered provinces he was content to assign its various parts to governors whose loyalty had not been tested, and hastened to devote himself to pleasure. 'The Emperor Humayun,' says Mirza-d din Ahmad, 'remained for a year at Agra and took his pleasure.'³

(iv) Meanwhile, both Gujarat and Jhansi were rapidly lost.⁴ (iii. 30.)

One night Mirza Asaf in a convivial party took too much wine, and giving license to his tongue, exclaimed, "I am a King, and the shadow of God." Just at this period Shams Beg had counselled Mirza Asaf to have the Shahid redhot and coin struck in his name, and set up his claims to independence, expecting that "he

meanwhile too, the Gujaratis came heavily out of Ahmedabad . . . Mirza Yaqub Khan and Mirza Shams Beg came up in due order, with their horses and the Gujaratis took to flight" (ii. 4 B, op. cit., v, p. 191).

1. F. K. notes adds: "In this state of affairs, Bahadur Shah, Sultan, Gulab Shah and the other sovereigns of the Deccan, apprehensive of his designs, wrote submissive letters, tendering their allegiance. Humayun had scarcely obtained their flattering tokens of his success, when servants arrived of the insurrection created in the north by Sher Khan." (Bagge, II, pp. 80-1.)

2. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 228.

3. "On the return of Humayun to his capital, it was observed that he gave very little share ever to the extensive use of justice, public business was neglected, and the governors of the surrounding districts taking advantage of the state of affairs, promoted their own aggrandizement" (Bagge, II, p. 82).

4. "One year had seen the rapid conquest of the two great provinces; the next saw them as quickly lost." (Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 191).

groups, in hopes (of reward) would devote themselves to his service. Mirza Asker did not accept this advice; but Tarrif Beg, who was a messenger to Hama, to inform him that Mirza Asker had hostile intentions, and was about to march upon Agra and prosecute himself King.

Ahmadshah and other powers revealed in letters of Bahadur Shah, who soon returned from Dera with Portuguese aid, and recovered all his lost dominions.¹ 'Mirza Asker and the Shah of Agra associated and made a show of fighting, and then retired. But before Mirza Asker returned from Ahmadshah the newspapers and reporters had communicated to the Emperor the progression which Mirza Haidi Beg had made to the Mirza for his entering the army, and although he had not assisted therein, they reported that he entered with hostile designs' (1805-36).

Hamiyān left Mīrāt, and reached Agra before Akbar. Although not received, he considered it prudent to take no notice of reports. Thus the countries of Mīrāt and Gajrat, 'the conquest of which had been obtained by the exertions of an heroic youth, were now abandoned without a struggle.'²

(Note.—This 'beautiful but useless democracy' towards his brethren was to prove Hamiyān's ruin.)

(x.) When Sultan Bahadur was defeated Hamiyān had sent every Muhammad Zamil Mīrāt to Sind, instead of taking better account of him. That pretender had fled to Lihore, when on account of trouble in Kandahar, Kāmrān had left the Punjab temporarily. When Muhammad Zamil heard of the Emperor's return to Agra, he again took refuge in Gajrat. Kāmrān meanwhile recovered Kandahar from the Persians who had for some time occupied it.³

1. Vasco d'Gama, the Portuguese Viceroy, offered Bahadur Shah a fleet of 500 Europeans in return for allowing them to trade Dera and important trade concessions. Later Bahadur Shah was invited to a conference by the Portuguese in the course of which he fell into the sea and died in 1807, at the age of 38. But Hamiyān took no advantage of the death of his hereditary enemy which put Gajrat into disorder.

Dr. Buxton attributes the general revulsion of feelings against Hamiyān in Mīrāt and Gajrat to Hamiyān's indulgence in excessive cruelty. See Buxton, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-6.

2. Foulden: *Revue*, II, p. 45.

3. R. & G., *op. cit.*, V, p. 126.

Shēr Khān has already been mentioned as one of the important leaders of the Afghan revolt against the Maghals. His early life and career will be more fully dealt with in the next chapter. (How only his relations with Humāyūn will be considered)

(17) By the end of 1531 Shēr Khān had made himself master of the provinces of South Bihar, and occupied the important strong hold of Chanderī near Mithraī. In that year, Humāyūn, before marching south against Bahādūr Shāh, but after the defeat of Mahāzād Lodi at Daurah, encountered Shēr Khān for the first time.¹ The Tārīkh-i Shēr Shāh of Abūl Khān gives the following account of the event:

"When Humāyūn had overcome Sultan Mahāzād, and had put the greater number of his opponents to death, he sent Hādī Beg to take Chanderī from Shēr Khān, but Shēr Khān declined to give it up to him. When he heard this, Humāyūn commanded his victorious standards to be set in motion towards Chanderī. The army of Humāyūn besieged Chanderī. Shēr Khān knew that the Emperor would be unable to deliver him in those parts for his spies brought him word that Bahādūr Shāh the King of Gujarat, had recovered the kingdom of Mithraī and was meditating the capture of Delhi and would shortly declare war.² Humāyūn

1. The fort of Chanderī stands on a rock close to the Ganges, and is, as it were, a detached portion of the Vindhya Mountains which extend to the same river near Mithraī. From that neighbourhood the hills rise steeply, by the foot of Rohtās and Banāras, and do not approach the river again, until near Bhāgalpūr, after which they run straight north, leaving the Ganges at a great distance. These hills, therefore, cover the whole of the south-west of Bihar and Bengal, and rise up the road along the south bank of the Ganges, in two places: one near Chanderī and the other at Bhāgalpūr, east of Bhāgalpūr. The hills themselves are not high, but pure and covered with woods. "As Humāyūn marched along the Ganges and made use of that river to convey his guns and stores, it was necessary for him to begin with the siege of Chanderī." *Elphinstone*, op. cit., p. 44.

2. Collation: Begun states: "He (Humāyūn) defeated them (Bihar and Bhāgalpūr) and then went to Chanderī (Chanderī)—took it and thence returned to Agra." This is also sustained by Jaising—(opener), op. cit., p. 131.

3. Abul Fazl also asserts that Sultan Bahādūr of Gujarat sent him (Shēr Khān) a subsidy and recruited him to his side. Fazl made capital out of this for rebellion and sent someone for not going.—*Abul Khān*, I, p. 128.

you also having received this intelligence Sher Khan sent his word to him and wrote saying, "I am your slave, and the slave of Jangal Badia.

As you must entrust the task of Chander to some one, make it over to me, and I will send my son, Kuthi Khan to accompany you in this expedition. Do you lay aside all anxiety as regards these people. Be it what I or any other Afghan do say an unbefitting or delayed, you have my son with you; whilst as how much expense is necessary is nothing to others."

'When Sher Khan's embassy represented this to the Emperor Humayun, he replied, "I will give Chander to Sher Khan, but on this condition, that he sends Jahl Khan with me."

Finally, when Humayun heard of Hindul Mahomed Badia's escape from Badkha, and Badkha Badia's intended march on Delhi, he agreed to Sher Khan's proposal. Sher Khan was delighted and sent Kuthi Khan, his son, and Jahl Khan his chamberlain, to the Emperor who set off in April, and employed himself in suppressing the rebellion of Badkha Badkha.¹

(4) 'Sher Khan took advantage of this opportunity and did not leave one penny of his revenues throughout the kingdom of Affgh. When the Emperor came back from Gujarat, the Khan-Kabulian Yusuf-Khan (who brought the Emperor Kuthi from Kabul to Hamidabad) said to him: "It is not wise to neglect Sher Khan, for he is rebelliously inclined, and will undertake all matters pertaining to government; moreover all the Afghans are collected round him." The Emperor Humayun, relying on the words of his lords, and on the pride of Empire, took no heed of Sher Khan, and returning the same month as April, sent Hindul Beg to Jangal, with directions to write a full and true report regarding Sher Khan.

'When Sher Khan heard that the Emperor Humayun, intended himself marching towards Delhi, he sent magnificent presents to Hindul Beg, Governor of Jangal, and gained his good will. At the same time Sher Khan wrote thus: "From what I promised I have not departed. I have not invaded the Emperor's country. Kindly write to the Emperor, and assuring him of my loyalty, disengage him from standing in this direction, for I am his servant and well-wisher." When Hindul Beg beheld Sher Khan's presents, he approved of them and was well pleased, and he said to the eunuch, "So long as I live let your mind be easy. No one shall betray you." And in the presence of Sher Khan's eunuch wrote a letter to the Emperor Humayun saying: "Sher Khan is a loyal servant of Your Majesty, and desires not and needs the Shahi in your name, and has not transgressed the boundaries of Your Majesty's territory, or done any thing since your departure, which could be any cause of annoyance to

1. Jahl Khan overtook Sher Khan after his death, at Jahan Sakh.

2. Sher Khan escaped from Humayun when he was busy in Gujarat.—*Erskin*, op. cit., p. 12.

296. The Emperor on receipt of Shāh Beg's letter, deferred his journey that year.

(iii) Sher Shāh meanwhile despatched Jalāl Khān, Khwāsh Khān-unior, and other chiefs, to reconquer Bengal and the city of Gaur. On their entering Bengal, Sultan Mahmūd, unable to oppose them, retired to the fort of Gaur. The Afghans having made themselves masters of the surrounding country, overtook and betrayed that fortress, before which daily skirmishes took place.

(iv) The following year the Emperor marched towards Rāidī and Bengal. When he arrived near Chaudī,* he consulted his nobles whether he should first take Chaudī, or march towards Gaur, which the son of Sher Shāh was besieging, but had not yet taken. All his Mughal nobles advised that he should first take Chaudī and then march on Gaur, and it was so determined; but when Hamid-rahā the Khān-Khānā Yūsuf Khān for his opinion, he (having previously heard that the Mughal nobles had agreed it was advisable first to take Chaudī) said, "It is a counsel of the young to take Chaudī first: the counsel of the aged is, as there is much treasure in Gaur, it is advisable to take Gaur first; also that the capture of Chaudī is an easy matter. The Emperor replied: "I am young, and prefer the counsel of the young. I will not leave the fate of Chaudī in the rear." The author has heard from the Khān-Khānā's companions, that when he returned to his quarters, he observed: "'The lack of Sher Shāh is great that the Mughals do not go to Gaur. Before they take this fort, the Afghans will have conquered Gaur, and all its treasure will fall into their hands.' When Chaudī fell to Hamid-rahā, Gaur had already fallen to Sher Khān," who also took about the same

1. The march took place, according to Bihāstunāma, in Rajā 514 (July, 1557)—*History of India*, pp. 441 n. 5. "The Muziris of Hamid-rahā say that the army reached Chaudī on the Shāh River (Shāhān 1551) of A. H. 965, January 1558; but this would leave only 4 months for the conquest of Bengal, and all the other operations of Hamid-rahā's defeat in Rajā 4, H. 965, June 1558. I conclude therefore that the Muziris writer, who wrongly ever gives a date, may have mistaken the year, although he has remembered the festival, and that the siege began on 15th Shāhān, A.H. 964 (January 16th, 1557). All accounts agree that the siege lasted several months; some say 4 months."—(Ibid., p. 426 n.) According to Dr. Bānarsī, the correct date was, starting from April 27 July 1557 A.D., reaching Chaudī Oct. 1557 A.D., siege of Chaudī Oct. (1557)—March (1558). (Bānarsī, op. cit., p. 331)

By his wrong choice, Hamid-rahā committed a great blunder, and walked into the snare that Sher Shāh had clearly laid for him. He had to pay dearly for this moral mistake in strategy. After the fall of Chaudī, as was his wont, he indulged in giving a great banquet, and in distributing honours and rewards.—(Jalāl, 1561, p. 149)

2. When the fort fell into Sher Khān's hands there was such a mass of treasure in it, that, according to Bihāstunāma, 'he could not get a suffi-

take the more important fort of Biddah by stratagem."

He (Sher Khan) thanked God and said: "The fort of Chaur is no fort in comparison with this, as that has passed out of my possession; but this came into it. I was not so pleased at the conquest of Chaur; (I am) at getting possession of Biddah."

(14) "After the Emperor had got possession of Chaur, he retired to Biddah, and sent an army to Sher Khan having, at first, no pretence of the conquest of Biddah. Sher Khan knew he had the design, and said to the army: "I have captured this fort of Chaur, and have collected about me a very large force of Afghins. If the Emperor will abandon all design upon Biddah, I will surrender Biddah to him, and make it over to him; as he will dispose, and will send to his own brotherhood of Bengal as much as he likes. (I stand) sure, and I will send all the troops of Egypt—as the umbrellas, drums, etc.—to the Emperor, and will yearly send him five of rages from Bengal. But, by the Emperor return towards April." The Emperor, on hearing these words, became exceedingly glad and agreed to what Sher Khan proposed.

Sher Khan was much delighted and said: "I will fulfil its terms, agreed upon, and will pay the said eight, to Almighty God that while his forts so faithfully may hold between the Emperor and myself, for I am his dependent and servant."

(15) "Three days after this despatch the army of Sultan Mahmud, the successor of Nusrat Sidd of Bengal, came into the province of the Emperor Humayun, and made the following communication: "The Afghins have seized the fort of Chaur, but more of the country is yet in my possession. Let me, Your Majesty trust to Sher Khan's promises not march towards these parts, and before they have established and strengthened themselves, expel them from the country, and altogether suppress this revolt. I also will join you, and they are not powerful enough to oppose you." As soon as he heard this report of Sultan Mahmud, the Emperor ordered his victorious standards to be set in motion towards Bengal."

Further adds:—"The king moved forward with the whole army, and in four days with little difficulty took possession of Chaur, the capital of Bengal, and drove away all the Afghins. After cleansing and repairing it city, the first act of His Majesty was to divide the province equally among his officers, after which he very conspicuously that himself up in a harem, and abandoned himself to every kind of indulgence and luxury. While the king had thus for several months given himself up to pleasure and indolence, information was at length conveyed to him that Sher Khan

was coming to attack him, and was at a loss how to reply, that was to Biddah. Finally, all the elephants, camels, men and all the rest of burden captured at Chaur, from the Afghans, were ordered for a purpose.—(R. & D. op. cit., V, p. 112.)

1. For details of this see R. & D. op. cit., IV, pp. 367-368; also *Chandraraj*, op. cit., p. 335 s. 10.

had killed Sir Niglah, had laid siege to the fortress of Chandi, and taken the city of Benares, and had also now advanced an army along the bank of the Ganges to take Kanung; that he had further seized the families of several of the officers, and sent them prisoners to Patna.¹

(vi.) Sher Khân looked upon Humâdân's conduct as a definite betrayal of his previous engagements with himself: "I have observed all loyalty to the Emperor," he said, "and have committed no offence against him, and have not encroached upon his boundaries."

The Emperor desired the kingdom of Bihâr, and I was willing to surrender it. But it is not the right way to possess a kingdom to demand, so long a time (as Sher Khân then pointedly) leave his services; and in order to please their majesties, to raise and slay the Afghans. But since the Emperor takes no heed, and has violated his promise— you will hear what deeds the Afghans will do, and the march to Bengal will end in repentance and regret, for now the Afghans are united, and have laid waste their mutual quarrels and enmities. The country which the Maghals have taken from the Afghans. They got through the internal dissensions among the latter." As Humâdân did not keep to his word, Sher Khân felt himself free to act as he pleased. Accordingly, he despatched some of his officers to the west to attack the Empire when Humâdân was away in Benarâs. They took Benares and killed the greater part of the Maghal garrison there. Then they proceeded to Bulwaich, and drove out the Maghals from thence parts, until they arrived at and captured the city of Samâhal, and made slaves of the inhabitants and spoiled the city. Another force was sent towards Jaunpûr, the governor of which place was killed in battle, and the same force was sent in the direction of Agrâ. Every governor on the part of the Emperor Humâdân throughout the whole country, who offered any opposition, was killed, or was defeated and driven out of the country, so that all the districts as far as Kanung and Samâhal fell into the

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 142. "When Humâdân entered Gau' says Nizamatulla, Sher Khân had previously filled up all the muskets of that place with an exquisite variety of ornaments and embellishments, and rendered them a perfect gallery of pictures by gaily-coloured ribbons and costly silk stuffs, in the hope that Humâdân, charmed with it, would be induced to prolong his stay there, and his designs were completely succeeded by fact: for Humâdân remained four months in Gau', and had no leisure for any other occupation than pleasure and enjoyment."—*Ibid.*, pp. 1123. As to Benares, Humâdân's stay in Gau' was from Aug. 1558 to Mar. 1559. *Op. cit.*, p. 229.

possessions of the Akbrites. The officers of Sher Khân also collected the revenues of both the autumn and spring harvests of these parts."

(vii) Maqbulah, Minsk Mendel who had returned to Agra from Humayûn's camp, saved the standard of steel at the capital, and married Sheikh Bahâd who was much respected by the Emperor Humayûn. "When the Emperor heard of this deliverance he left Jubbulpore Bag in charge of Bengal with a reinforcement of 5,000 chosen men, and set off for Agra. At the time Muhammad Zahir Minsk returned from Caporet with great contrition, and waited upon the Emperor, who forgave him and did not utter a word of reproach." Humayûn, however, was not allowed to escape so easily by Sher Khân.

(ix) The latter, summing up his forces from Bidâr, Jaunpûr, and other places, collected them at the environs of the fort of Faizâbâd. Thence he marched to confront the Emperor. "At every stage he entrenched himself with an entrenchment, and going on entirely at his leisure, made very short marches. When the Emperor heard that Sher Khân was coming, he retraced his steps, and turned in the direction of Sher Khân's army. But, Sher Khân on learning this, wrote to the Emperor saying, that if the Emperor would give him the Kingdom of Bengal, and be satisfied that the Akabid be real and money stuck in the Emperor's name, he would be the Emperor's vassal." "These proposals were received with great satisfaction."

"Then Humayûn sent Sheikh Khadrî on an embassy to Sher Khân. . . . Sheikh Khadrî, in the presence of the Emperor's men who had accompanied him, debated long and earnestly with Sher Khân and strongly advised the proposed peace; and during the consultation the following words fell from Sheikh Khadrî: "If you do not agree to peace, away with you; declare war and fight." Sher Khân said, "What you say is a good omen for me; please God, I will fight." After the consultation, Sher Khân gave to Sheikh Khadrî money and rich clothes and maintenance of Malda and of Bengal in enormous quantities, and captivated his heart by these presents and favours. Then he played him with further flattery as a result of which he got the following advice:—

1. *Fahâris-i-Akbari*, E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 201-4.

2. "But next morning Sher Khân fell upon the royal army unawares and put it to the rout before it could be drawn up in array."—*Ibid.*, p. 205.

"War with the Emperor Hunslyka is more for your advantage than peace; for this reason, that in his army the most complete disorder exists; he has no horses or cattle and his own brothers are in rebellion against him." He only makes peace with you now from necessity, and will not eventually slide by the treaty. Look on this opportunity as so much gained, and do not let it out of your grasp, for you will never again have such another."

Having consulted his nobles, and finding that they all enthusiastically responded, Sher Khin addressed his army thus: "For two days I have drawn out my army, and have returned to my encampment, that I might put the Emperor off his guard, and that he might not suspect that my army was coming towards him. Now turn, set your faces towards the army of the Emperor, and let not the honour of the Afghans out of your grasp nor fail to display your utmost devotion, for now is the time to regain the Emperor of Hindūstān."

The Afghans replied, "Let not our lord show any hesitation to find its way to his noble heart." Having read the *Jishā*, and drawn up his forces in order of battle, Sher Khin, with all haste marched towards the Emperor's camp. When the Afghans were close at hand, news was brought to the Emperor that Sher Khin was coming with all speed to battle with him.

The Emperor ordered out his army to resist the attack, saying

1. Long marches and the unwholesome climate of Bengal destroyed the horses of the soldiers, and the Emperor's army arrived quite destitute of provisions at Chaurā. . . . Sher Khin having got intelligence of the distress of the army came and placed himself in front of the Emperor, and the armies remained confronting each other three months.—*Ibid.*, p. 322. See *Harari*, op. cit., pp. 223-25.

2. *Fakhra* writes,—"To add to Hunslyka's apprehensions which could hardly be removed, his brother *Minākā Mīrā*, instead of aiding him in the crisis, agreed to the demand, and marched with 15,000 horse from *Lāhar* giving out that he came to offer assistance. On the arrival of *Minākā* at *Delhā*, *Hindū Mīrā* prevailed on him to unite their forces in prosecution of the siege. . . . The princes finding the governor of *Delhā* refusing to surrender or betray, raised the siege and marched towards *Agā* (in reaching that city, the jealousy which the brothers mutually entertained against each other [the eyes of both being turned towards the throne] renewed itself in open war. *Hindū Mīrā*, being deserted by many of his party, fled to *Alwar* with 5,000 horse and 300 elephants, while *Kāwā Mīrā* entering *Agā* proclaimed himself King!—*Erang*, II, p. 66.

but after a short delay and having performed his ablutions, he then would follow. The Emperor was a late riser, and in the midst of his gallantry and daring, and the pride of youth, and confidence in the multitude of his forces and followers, who had no equals for intrepidity and gallantry, he despised the forms of Shīr Khān who were all Afghans, and did not even inspect his forces nor pay regard to what is necessary in an engagement; nor did he take into consideration the disproportion which the shadow of Bengal had produced in his army.¹

Shīr Khān knew all the devices and stratagems of war, and knew how to commence and conclude an engagement, and had experienced both prosperity and misfortune. The army of the Afghans had not extricated themselves from their camp, when the Afghan army were already upon them, and seeing boldly on attacked the army of the Emperor without hesitation. In the twinkling of an eye, they routed the Mughal forces on 20th June 1556. Humāyūn had not completed his ablutions when the intelligence reached him that the Afghans were utterly scattered, so that to rally them was impossible. The confusion in the army was so great that he had no time to save his family,² but fled in the direction of Agra with the intention of collecting all his forces at that place, and returning again from thence to destroy his enemy.³

Ignatius, Humāyūn's personal attendant, gives the following particulars of the confusion and of the battle of Chughtai or Chausa:—

'An soldier seated on an elephant discharged an arrow which wounded the King in the arm, and the enemy began to surround him.⁴ His Majesty then called to his troops to advance and charge the enemy, but no one obeyed; and the Afghans having succeeded in throwing everything into confusion, one of the King's followers came up, seized his bridle, and said, "There is no time to be lost,"

1. 'Both armies lay three months inactive at a time when Humāyūn ought to have brought on action at all hands being every day melted and harassed by the enemy's light troops.'—*Ibid.*, p. 82.

2. 'Shīr Khān, some days afterwards, sent the queen to Rohilkhand charge of Hassan Khān Mirā, and providing the families of the other Afghans with carriages and their necessary expenses, sent them on towards Agra.'—*E. & D.*, op. cit., IV, p. 295.

3. Here the difference in the previous account of Akbar Khān and Gao of Jodhpur, regarding the part played by Humāyūn in this engagement.

when your friends forsake you, dignity is the only remedy." The King then proceeded to the bank of the river, and although followed by one of his own elephants, he swung his horse into the stream, but in a short time the horse sank. On seeing this event, a water-carrier, who had distended his leather bag (mash) with air offered it to His Majesty, who by means of the bag swam the river.¹

¹ According to the most authentic accounts, 1,000 Mughals exiles, of Hindia, were drowned, during the flight, among whom was the prince Muhammad Zahir Mirda.²

(x) After the victory, Sher Khan assumed the title and insignia of royalty: at the desire of his nobles, Sher Khan said, "The kingly name is a very envied thing, and is not devoid of trouble; but since the noble minds of my lords have decided to make me King, I agree." He seated himself on the throne, unveiled the umbrella over his head, and assumed the name of Sher Shah, and struck coin, and caused the *Shahid* to be read in his own name, and he took also the additional title of *Shah Alam*.³ The coronation, according to Gurnea, took place at Gaur, about the beginning of December, 1539.

(xi) Mahmud's Humayun reached Agra. 'Mirza Kamran had received no intelligence before the Emperor arrived. The latter repaired at once to the mansion of his brother, and on seeing such misdeeds, the eyes of the brothers filled with tears. Humayun (who had come from Agra) received pardon for his offences, and then came and waited upon the Emperor. Muhammad Sultan Mirda and his sons also came in and joined them. Consultations were held. Mirza Kamran was desirous of returning to Lahore, and showed unbounded expectations. The Emperor assented to all his extraordinary propositions. Humayun's Beg wanted himself to bring about the return of Mirza Kamran. The negotiations went on for

¹ 'On reaching his capital, Humayun allowed the man who had saved his life to sit on the throne for half a day, and permitted him to extend his own relations during that time with priority persons.'—Ferdin. Buzarji, p. 48.

² Ibid. also E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 300.

³ His name bore the title of '*Shahid al-Jalil*.'—Thomas, op. cit., p. 286.

⁴ Gurnea, op. cit., p. 300.

six months. Meanwhile, Mirza Khawas had been attacked with seven soldiers, and some designing persons had misled into his mind that his illness was the result of poison administered to him by the Emperor's doctors. So, ill as he was, he started for Lillore, having sent Khudai Malik Beg in advance. He promised to leave a considerable portion of his army to assist his brother at Ajmer; but in spite of this promise, he carried all off with him, leaving only 2,000 men whom he left at Ajmer under the command of Sikandar.¹

(iii) Sher Shah himself pursued the Emperor Humayun and got possession of the whole country, as far as Delhi and Kanauj. He sent his Khan towards Gwalior and Mithat and to the chiefs of those parts he wrote saying, "I am about to send a son of mine into your neighbourhood. When the Emperor Humayun moves towards Kanauj, do you accompany my son, and seize and lay waste the country about Ajmer and Delhi."

'News arrived that the Emperor Humayun pursued marching towards Kanauj. Sher Shah despatched his son Kuth Khan to Mithat, in order that he might, in concert with the chiefs of those parts, alarm and rattle the country about Ajmer and Delhi.

'When the Emperor Humayun heard that Sher Shah had sent his son towards Gwalior, that he might raise disturbances in those parts, he sent both his brothers, Mirza Hussain and Mirza Asker with other nobles in that direction. When the Mithat chiefs heard that the two brothers of the Emperor were coming in support Kuth Khan, they gave him no assistance. Kuth Khan went from Gwalior to the city of Chondwa (Khajuri²) and, engaging the Mughals of Chondwa, was slain. Mirza Hussain and Mirza Asker having gained this victory, returned to the Emperor.

When Sher Shah heard this, he was extremely grieved and enraged. The Mughals gained excessive confidence from this victory, and large forces having come also from their own country, the Emperor Humayun arrayed his army and came to Kanauj (Zilcadeh, 543 A.D., April 1556). Sher Shah also fortified himself on the opposite side.'

1. F. & B., op. cit., V, p. 226.

2. George, op. cit., p. 308.

BATTLE OF KANAUJ OR DELIGRAH

(185) 'On the 10th of January, 1857, A.D. both armies drew out their forces. When Sher Shah had drawn up his army, he said to the Afghans: "I have used my best exertions to collect you together, I have done my best in training you, and have kept you in anticipation of a day like this. This is the day of trial; whoever of you shows himself to excel in valor on the field of battle, him will I promote above his fellows." The Afghans replied, "The mighty King has much protected and honored us. This is the time for us to serve him and show our devotion."

Sher Shah ordered each chief to return to his own followers and to remain with them, and he himself went through the army and set it in proper array.¹

Quite as central to this was the episode on the side of Humayun. Mirza Hakim, Mirza's cousin, who was himself one of the commanding officers on the occasion, vividly describes the condition of the Afghan army and the course and result of the battle thus:—

The Imperial army reached the banks of the Ganges in the best way that it could. There it encamped and lay for about a month, the Emperor being on one side of the river, and Sher Shah on the other, facing each other. The armies may have amounted to more than 100,000 men. Muhammad Sultan Mirza, who had several times reviled against Humayun, but being unsuccessful, had sought forgiveness and had been pardoned, now having reconciled with Sher Shah, deserted.

A new way was thus opened. Everybody began to desert, and the most surprising part of it was, that many of those who deserted did not go over to Sher Shah, and could expect no favour from him. A heated feeling ran through the army, and the cry was, "Let us go and meet in our own homes." A number also of Mirza's auxiliary forces deserted and fled to Lahore.

As the army had taken to desert, it was judged better to risk a battle than to see it go on in more violent fighting. If the result was unfavourable, in that case, we could not at least be accused of having abandoned the Empire without making a trial. We therefore crossed the river. Both armies extended themselves. Everyday skirmishes occurred between the adversaries exchanging squads of both sides. These proceedings were put an end to by the morning storm, which came on and flooded the ground, rendering it unfit for camp. The water was impassable. Officers were expressed that another such deluge would sink the whole army in the abyss of despair, and it was decided to move to a rising ground, which the inundation could not reach, and which lay in front of the enemy. I went to reconnoitre, and found a place suitable for the purpose.

1. See Bannay, *op. cit.*, 242-43.

'Between me and the river there was a hole of 27 fathoms, all of whom carried the sack basket.' On the day of battle, when King Shih, having turned his division, marched out, of all these 27 high baskets, not one was to be seen, for the great water had hidden them on the supposition that the enemy might advance towards them. The subtlety and bravery of these Avas may be conceived from this only. Later of course, King Shih came out in the distance of 1000 men each, and in addition of them were 2000 more. I estimated the whole as being less than 15,000; but I calculated the Chagatai force as about 140,000 as measured in typical horses, and died in one moment. They saved his, the name of the son, but the number of the slain and slaves of the army was such as I have described.

Every Avar and Kafir in the Chagatai army, whether in his suit or gun, had his ghillies. An owner of one with his 100 soldiers and followers has 500 servants and ghillies, who on the day of battle render no assistance to their master and have no control over themselves. As in whatever place there was conflict, the ghillies were entirely unmanageable. When they lost their masters, they were raised with panic and blindly rushed about as terror. In short, it was impossible to hold our ground. They so pressed upon us in the rear, that they drove the water upon the chain stretched between the gun-carriages, and they and the water dashed each other upon them. Such was the state of the enemy.

On the night, King Shih advanced in battle array: but before an order was discharged, the camp-followers fled the camp before the king, and breaking the line, they all pressed towards the coast.

'The Chagatai were defeated in this battle-field; where not a man, neither friend or foe, was wounded; not a gun was fired: and the chariot was broken.'

'But the Emperor Hsunlyte himself' says Abul Kadir 'remains at first like a mountain in his position on the battle-field, and deployed 5000 vanguard and artillery as a beyond all description. But when he saw supernatural things fighting against him, he acknowledged the work of God, abandoned the battle to those cowardly warriors, and turned the heels of his purpose towards his capital of Agra. He received no wound himself, and escaped safe and sound out of that blood-thirsty whirlpool.'

1. Tughi was the standard represented by the flowing tail of a woman's robe, an object of great ambition, and granted only to the lazes—Kashan, op. cit., p. 141.

2. Hsunlyte crossed the river on the back of an elephant: but the opposite bank was so steep that he could not find a place to ascend. 'At length' says Ishtak, 'some of the eunuchs, who were on the look out for him, had their ladders together, and throwing an end of the chain to him he with some difficulty climbed up. They then brought him a horse, on which he mounted and proceeded towards Agra'—(H. & D., op. cit., V, p. 144).

The greater part of his army was drawn into their camp."

The Emperor fled in April, and when the enemy approached that day, he made no delay but went to Lüchow.

And Shao Shih having sent two of his best officers to bring Gaidou and Samshid, and speedily visited the country about Kuning, looked himself in the direction of Agh. When Shao Shih approached Agh, the Emperor, unable to remain there, fled towards Lüchow. Shao Shih was greatly displeased at this, . . . and on his arrival at Agh remained there for some days himself, but sent Ishardu Khin and Doromond (for in the division of Lüchow, with a large Argide force to pursue the Emperor . . .) But the Emperor and Mirza Khurda quitted Lüchow, which was shortly afterwards occupied by Shao Shih, who, however, made no halt there. On the third march beyond Lüchow, he heard that Mirza Khurda had gone by way of the Jade Hills to Kihel, and thus the Emperor Humdyliu was wandering along the banks of the Indus in Malak and Malakur. The King went to Khurda and thence despatched Ghaziz Khin . . . and the greater part of the army, in pursuit of the Emperor, towards Malak. He instructed them not to capture the Emperor, but to drive him beyond the borders of the Kingdom, and then to return.

Here we must slightly retrace our steps to recount Humdyliu's

last pathetic efforts to win the co-operation of

The Faithful his ungrateful brothers. "At the beginning of June

Arghin assembled all the Chinghizid Nations and Arghis were assembled in Lüchow; but Mirza Muhammed Bekim and his sons, who had come to Lüchow, fled from thence to Makhia. Mirza Fuzuli and Mirza Yildiz Nisar found it expedient to go towards Buzkur and Tashia, and Mirza Klawda determined to go to Kihel as soon as the party was broken up.

It was abundantly manifest to the Emperor that there was no possibility of bringing his brothers and those to any common agreement, and he was very despondent. Persians say, "Humdyliu used every possible argument with his brothers to effect a coalition of interests against Shao Shih telling them that their common foe had met and in their losing that mighty Empire which had cost their

1. "Now others," says Klaproth, "ascribe Humdyliu's defeat to treachery; and say that Shao Shih attacked him during an armistice, or even after a peace had been signed. But Abdul Fazl asserts, with great justice to Shao Shih, that he delayed Humdyliu's retreat by sending him with negotiations, but never professed to suspend his hostilities, and was entirely indebted to his military skill for the success of his strategy."—(*Ann. of India* p. 492 n.), Cf. *Review* op. cit., pp. 724-5.

2. E. & D. op. cit. V. p. 281.

father as much peace to require; that their conduct would involve the issue of 'Dharma in one common rule', and that no remedy remained but to struggle against the common enemy, and afterwards to divide the Empire amongst themselves. These arguments had no weight with the King's brothers who, blinded by ambitious designs, aimed rather to live all than to be content with a part.¹

Minā Haster Bā after much consultation had been sent off with a party who had volunteered for service at Kishinā² and Khadga Kallin Bā was ordered to follow him. When the Minā had reached Nandahat, and Kallin Bā had got as far as Sallat, intelligence reached the Emperor that Sher Shāh had crossed the river (Jyoti) at Sallatpā, and was only a few days distant. His Majesty then passed over the river at Sallat.

'Minā Kharā, after proving faithful to the oaths and contracts which he had made to help in whatever was decided upon, now thought it expedient to retire with the Emperor to Bahra.' When Khadga Kallin Bā heard of this, he marched rapidly from Sallat, and joined the camp of Humāyūn. At Bahra, Minā Kharā and Minā Akāl parted from Humāyūn, and went off accompanied by Khadga Kallin Bā to Kharā. This was towards the end of October 1556.

II. TWENTY YEARS OF EXILE (1556-86)

'Minā Haster and Minā Yodgar Nāir still remained with Khadga Kallin, but after a few days they also dis-

Wandering in
the Desert.

appeared. For twenty days they dragooned
but falling into difficulties, they once more came
back and made their appearance. On the banks of the river Sind
(Indus) a fierce storm in the camp, and boats to cross the river
were not procurable. They wandered about from place to place,
—Bahra, Shalāhar, Pāter—and sought refuge in vain from Sher

¹ Briggs, II, pp. 16-7. For an analysis of the nature of Humāyūn's policy to maintain his sovereignty see Farnell, op. cit. pp. 122-4.

² When Minā Haster reached Kishinā, he found the people fighting against each other. A party of them came and walked upon him and through them Kishinā left him his hands, without striking a blow. On the third day, he became ruler of Kishinā.—E. & B., op. cit., V, p. 208.

³ About 1561, he sent an embassy to Sher Shāh imploring for the People.—*Adab-ul-Hisn*, I, p. 208.

He-ah-Aghla, ruler of Thatta, with a view to 'attract the recovery of Gajapati'.

Crash becoming aware at Shalimar, the Emperor started off in Pata, where Mirak Haidil was staying, for he had heard that Mirak Haidil intended to go to Kandahar. It was here, in the camp of Haidil at Pata, that Humsayin fell in love with Maryama Mahida Hamida Bera Begum (who soon became mother of Akbar), in the summer of 1541. Nadwadi-ah says, he 'spent several days of happiness and pleasure in the camp of Haidil'. The Emperor forbade Haidil to go to Kandahar, but he did not obey. When Humsayin was informed of it, he was much troubled by the want of union among his brothers.

Then the conquest of Thatta was thought of. 'When the Emperor marched for Thatta, a large body of soldiers parted from him, and stayed at Shalimar. Then he made a vain attempt to capture the fort of Shikhan, and retired to Shalimar. Mirak Yildiz Mir proved treacherous and helped the enemy to harry Humsayin, but Humsayin once more forgave him, and again cut a word of oil that had passed.' But, 'he was more exhibited his enmity to the Emperor, and never again sought a reconciliation.' The men of Humsayin's army, being in great distress, began to desert by ones and twos to Mirak Yildiz Mir, who 'in the depths of his misery, now prepared to turn his arms against Humsayin himself'.

In this extremity he resolved upon marching to Maldeo 'one of the faithful satellites of Hindustan, who at that time surpassed all the satellites of Hindustan in power and in the number of his troops'. This Maldeo had sent letters to Shalimar, declaring his loyalty, and offering assistance in effecting the subjugation of Hindustan. Humsayin accordingly marched towards Maldeo's country by way of Jandour. The ruler of this latter place, Mir Lon Karm, 'shamefully took an unworthy course'. He sent a force to attack the small party of the Emperor on the march; but it was defeated and driven back with loss. Humsayin had a great many men wounded. 'Then, he marched with all possible speed, till he reached the country of Maldeo, and sent an Akbar Khin to Maldeo at Jandour while he himself halted for a few days at some distance.

'When Maldeo was informed of the Emperor's weakness he was much alarmed, for he knew that he had not sufficient forces of his own to withstand Sher Shah. For Sher Shah had sent an ambassa-

door to Maldo, holding out great expectations; and the latter, in the extreme of perfidy, had promised to make Hamdyk a prisoner, if possible, and to give him over into the hands of his enemy. Nagor and its dependences had fallen into the power of Sher Shah, and consequently he was afraid that Sher Shah should be annoyed, and send a large army into his territory against Hamdyk. But luckily, one of the Emperor's ministers who at the time of his defeat had fled to Maldo, now wrote to Hamdyk informing him that Maldo was bent upon treachery, and advising him to get out of his territory as quickly as possible. So Hamdyk marched off at once to Amarkot.

"At length with extreme toil, they reached Kasan, which is 200 *kos* distant from Thatta. The Shah of Amarkot was kindly disposed, and came out to meet the Emperor, and offered his services. The army rested from their hardships some days in the city, and whatsoever the Emperor had in his treasury, he distributed among his soldiers. Fortune now for a time changed its treatment of the Emperor, by giving him a son, and expressing an enjoyable mark upon the page of time. The child was born on the 24th Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1542 A. H., 15th October, 1542, and the Emperor under spiritual guidance gave to the child the name of Jalil-ud-din Muhammad Akbar."

About July 1543,¹ "His Majesty, seeing that it was not advisable to remain longer in the country, determined upon going to Kandahar. At this time Ismael Khan, who later became famous as Akbar's guardian, rejoined him; he had sought refuge in Gujarat after Hamdyk's defeat at Kasan,² and after some adventures found the way back to his master." But Hamdyk's enemies still dogged his footsteps. Salih Husain of Thatta informed Mirza Asker and Mirza Ibrahim about his movements, and those envious wretches "wrote back desiring him to bar his progress and make him prisoner." Hamdyk only said: "What is the worth of Kandahar and Kabul that I should strive with my father's brothers?"

Leaving the young Prince Akbar, who was only a year old,

1. "Three years had elapsed since his first arrival in Hind, of which 12 months had been occupied in his negotiations and military attempts in that country; 4 months were spent in his journeys to the eastward of the Indus, and a year in his residence at Jem (a branch of the Indus, half way between Thatta and Amarkot) and his journey to Kandahar."—*Chachnama*, op. cit., p. 252.]

2. *Iskandarnama*, op. cit., pp. 252-253, E. & O., pp. 241, V, p. 235.

at Kandahar in the charge of a small party,¹ Hamayun accompanied by Baran Khan and a few others, 'set off once without delay, missing the route.'

The hostile proceedings of his brothers made these posts unsafe for His Majesty; so he proceeded onwards towards Khondab and Irag.

Upon entering Balkh, Akmal Sultan Shamsa, governor of that province under Shah Tahmasp, received him with great kindness. Thence, he proceeded to Herat, 'because he had heard great praise of the city,' and was equally well received. 'He received all that he could require, and lacked nothing until the time of his meeting Shah Tahmasp. All the palaces and gardens of Herat are beautiful to see, and His Majesty visited them, after which he took his departure for Meshed and Tus.'

Under the orders of the Shah, every governor on the route supplied him with all things he required. At length he reached Fakh Shirik and had an interview with Shah Tahmasp, who entertained him and showed every honour and distinction, worthy of both host and guest. He obtained from the Shah a force of 14,000 men, with whom he marched towards Kandahar. In return Hamayun promised to establish the Shia faith in his dominions, when he re-occupied them and to hand over Kandahar to the Persians.²

At the same time, Iskandar was in possession of Kābul, Herat of Ghazni, and Ashraf of Kandahar. Iskandar had also taken Badakshan, or South Bactria, from Salwān Mirān who had been placed

Reconquest
Continued.

1. Ashraf turned off the Prince (and gave him into the charge of Sultan Begum, his own wife, who treated him with great tenderness (during the year 1544). *Ibid.*, p. 114.

2. Shah Tahmasp was the son of Shah Ismail who had conferred suzerainty on Isfhar on very tender terms. Shah Ismail had established the Shia faith as the religion of Persia, and Tahmasp too was an equally ardent apostle of the sect. When Hamayun showed some disinclination to accept the creed, Shah Tahmasp appears to have sent him a large supply of food, with the message that it should serve as his funeral pyre if he failed to become a Shia. Hamayun was also presented with three papers, any one of which he was asked to sign. The girl who brought them to him said that it was his duty as well as honour to comply with the demand, which he had no means of effectually refusing.

³ The narrator never does not mention, and may not have known the contents of the papers; but it seems clear that they must have contained

those by Babur; North India, including Baluch, was in the hands of the Uzbeks. Sher Shah was still alive, and therefore there was little to be hoped from an invasion of Kandahar.¹

(1) "When they reached the fort of Garmah, they took possession of the Garmah territories. On arriving at Kandahar, a large body of men sallied out of the fort, and made what resistance they could, but were defeated. The siege of Kandahar went on for three months."

Babur Khan was sent to Kabul as an embassy to Mirza Miran. There he had interviews with Miran, Hamid, and others. Miran sent his money "to settle terms of peace if possible." But Miran Akbar was still intent upon fighting and holding out.

The Persian forces were tired at the long duration of the siege of Kandahar and had even thoughts of returning. But when many of the great Wazirs rallied round the Emperor, Akbar lost heart and proposed to surrender. "The Emperor in his great kindness granted him terms."

"It had been agreed with the Persians that as soon as Kandahar was taken it should be given up to them, and now the Emperor gave them possession of it, although he possessed no other territory. . . . Miran Akbar having found an opportunity, made his escape: but a party being sent in pursuit, he was caught and brought back. His Majesty then placed him in confinement. The chiefs of the Chaghatai tribes now met in council, and resolved that under the recommendation of the sultan, the fort of Kandahar must be taken from the Persians, and should be given up to them again after the recovery of Kabul and Badakshan."

"They entered the fort, and the Persians were overpowered. Hamid Khan mounted his horse and went into the city. . . . The Chaghatais in their great satisfaction then obtained possession of Kandahar" (September, 1558).

a professor of the Shia religion, and a promise to introduce it into India, as well as, an engagement to cede the frontier provinces or Kingdom of Kandahar. . . . That Hamid Khan himself professed to have been converted appears from a pilgrimage which he made to the tomb of Shah Ismail at Aghah, a mark of respect not very consistent with the character of a professed Shaitan.—*Epistémoté*: op. cit., pp. 405; see also *Erskiné*, op. cit., p. 208.

1. *Epistémoté*: loc. cit., p. 405.

"The reason of Karamba's to the Emperor was the price of the assistance of the Shah," observes Epluchetene, "and by swaying himself of that assistance . . . he nullified the engagement, sworn, and his infraction of it, especially with the concomitant circumstances, must leave him under the stigma of treachery."

(ii) After this, Hamdyin marched to effect the conquest of Kibal and left Ezzam Kral in charge of Karamba.

Mirza Yusuf Naur and Mirza Hamdi, having deposed a whom together, deserted Karamba. After being much harassed by the Hazka tribes on their journey, they joined the Emperor and proffered with him to Kibal . . . Mirza Karamba who had a well-equipped army, marched out with the intention of fighting, but every right parties of men deserted his army and joined Hamdyin. Mirza Karamba, being shamed, sent a party of Hazkas to visit upon the Emperor and ask forgiveness. The Emperor agreed to pardon him, on condition of his coming in and making his submission. Karamba did not agree to this, but fed and shut himself up in the citadel of Kibal. All his forces came over to the side of the Emperor. On the same night Karamba fled to Ghazal. The Emperor sent Mirza Hamdi in pursuit.

The Emperor then entered Kibal (15th November, 1945), and at night the citizens, in the extreme of joy, illuminated the whole city with lamps. On his entering the palace, Her Highness the Begum brought the young Prince Jalla-d din Muhammad Akbar to his father's presence. This sight lighted up the heart of the Emperor with joy, and he offered up his thanksgivings for the occasion. The victory was accomplished on the 15th Rabiul, 1324 A. H., when the Prince was 4 years, 2 months, and 5 days old. The anniversary of that year the Emperor spent in enjoyment at Kibal.

(iii) In the following year, Hamdyin marched to Badakhshan, for Mirza Salamin had disregarded the summons to come in and make his submission. Mirza Salamin was defeated and put to flight.

When Hamdyin was away in Badakhshan, Karamba, by a surprise attack took possession of Kibal and Ghazal. Hearing of this, the Emperor turned towards Kibal, having put Salamin again in charge of Badakhshan and Keshat. Karamba had taken possession of Prince Akbar, and in the fight that ensued, he made good

1. Epluchetene, *op. cit.*, p. 468.

etc. of this possession. 'With distinctly failing,' writes our historian, 'he ordered that His Highness the young Prince Akbar should be exposed upon the battlements, in the place where the balls and shot of the guns and muskets fell thickest. But Mirans Arpa took the child in his bosom, put himself forward, and held him toward the enemy (i.e. the garrison) and God Almighty preserved him. Klement's spirit left, and, from all parts and quarters men came in to render assistance to the Emperor. Reinforcements came from Badakhshan and Kandahar.

Mirā Klement was used for poison, and the Emperor granted it, upon condition of his personal submission. But he was afraid to do this, and sought to make his escape. After some scraps and adventures he sought refuge in Badakhshan. It was he tried to get help from the Uzbeks, and when he failed in this, being very much distressed, affected repentance and expressed his desire to go to Mecca. The Emperor once more pardoned him (April, 1547). 'When they met he displayed the greatest kindness to Klement, who again received the scepter of sovereignty. Three days they remained in the same place, and feasts and rejoicings went on. After some days, he gave the country of Kolab as an fief to Klement.

(iv) In June 1548, Husayn left Kābul, with the intention of proceeding against Balāh, and summoned Klement and Akbar. Though Mirā joined him, Klement and Akbar once more shared hostility, and did not come to pay their homage.

'In consequence of Klement's defection, a council of war was held to consider whether he might not make an attempt upon Kābul while the Emperor was engaged in Balāh. Husayn declared his opinion that as the invasion of Balāh had been undertaken, it should be prosecuted in full confidence; as the march was continued. But many of the men were discouraged by Klement's remaining absent. The expedition proved a failure' (1548-50).

Husayn reached Kābul in safety and remained there for the rest of the year. Klement once again captured Kābul. Mirā re-

1. Akbar Fad relates in the *Jahān-Nāma* that the Prince was actually exposed. But Shyakh, who was present, though he minutely describes other atrocities in the massacre, does not mention this, while Jucker in his private history of Husayn, states that the only threatened to expose him, on which Husayn, ordered the drag to cease. - *Muslims*, op. cit., p. 35-6.

married with the Emperor, and Askan fell into his hands. Ultimately, Askan died 'in the country of Hira' between Damascus and Hama, in 1532.¹

Karama had married a daughter of Shah Husayn Arghun of Sindh. When Husayn deposed him again, he sought help from his father-in-law, and made a fresh attempt on Kabul. In the course of this fight, Hinda met her death—in 1531.² Finally, Karama sought refuge with Sulaym Salim Shah Mir in Heratistan; but disgusted with the treatment he received there, he fled to the help of Safiur. Here he fell into the hands of Sulaym Ahmad Qasbi, who sent him as a captive to Husayn. 'The Emperor in his paternal humanity was ready to overlook the offences of Karama, but the officers and chiefs of the Chaghatu clans who had suffered many things owing to Karama's hostility, having agreed together, went to Heratistan, and stated that the security of the Chaghatu clans and people depended on the extinction of Karama Hinda, for they had repeatedly experienced the effects of his hostility. Heratistan had no escape but by consenting that he should be blinded.'³

Ali Dost Barlas, Sayid Muhammad Baka, and Ghulam Ali Shah-mughal (the six-fingered) deprived Hinda Karama of his sight with a lance.⁴ Afterwards, the miserable prince obtained per-

1. Fatah-ur-Rahim; R. & D., op. cit., V, p. 224. Malleson says that he was killed in Hama in 1531, where he died in 1535.—(Ameer p. 32)

2. R. & D., op. cit., V, p. 224, Fatah-ur-Rahim, II, p. 125. 'On an occasion to the memory of Hinda Hinda, who had espoused to his former double-dealer, by her blood, he gave the daughter of that prince, Mirza Askan, to his son Akbar in marriage. He conferred on them, at the same time all the wealth of Hinda, and appointed Akbar to the command of his entire troops, and to the Government of Ghazni.'

3. Cf. Fatah-ur-Rahim, II, p. 126.

4. Jushar gives all the painful details of the operation:—

'Early in the morning the King marched towards Heratistan; but before his departure, determined that the prince should be blinded, and gave orders accordingly; but the attendants on the prince disposed among themselves who was to perform the cruel act. Ghulam Ali represented to Karama, in a respectful and cunning manner, that he had received positive orders to blind him. The prince replied, "I would rather that you would at once kill me." Ghulam Ali said, "We dare not exceed our orders." He then raised a handkerchief as a veil for himself,

reason to go to Mecca, and 'being furnished with all that he could require for the journey, he set out.' He died in the holy city four years later, on 5th Oct., 1537.²

IV. RESTORATION AND DEATH (1535-56)

'After a time the intelligence came from India of the death of (Sultan) Salim Khan (1542), and of the dissensions among the Afghans.' In November 1534, the Emperor began his march. When the army encamped at Peshawar, Baran Khan, according to orders, came up from Kandahar, and the royal standards passed the river Indus on the last day of that year. The governor of New Badak, although that fort had been strengthened, made no resistance, and fled — Hamayun continued his march towards Lahore, and when the Afghans of that city became aware of the near advance of his army, they took to flight. He entered Lahore without opposition (26th February, 1535), and then sent on the nobles in command of the advance to Jalandhar and Sirhind. The districts of the Punjab, Sirhind and Bhatia, all came without a struggle into the hands of the Chaghatu forces. A body of Afghans assembled at Dipsalpur, were defeated, and their baggage and their wives and families became the prey of the victors.

ing into the mouth, and he with the Jew, seeing the prince by the hands, pulled him out of the nest, laid him down, and showed a lesser hole his eyes took was the will of God). This they repeated at least fifty times, but he bore the torture in manly manner and did not utter a single groan, except when one of the men who was sitting on his knees pressed him. He then said, "Why do you sit on my knees? What is the use of adding to my pain?" This was all he said, and he ended with great courage, till they repeated some solemn psalm and put into the sockets of his eyes. He could not forbear, and called out, "O Lord O Lord, my God, whatever sins I may have committed here have surely reached in this world, have compassion on me in the next". The nation of these paper Christians, seeing the prince in such pain and distress, could no longer remain with him. I therefore went to my own tent, and sat down in a comfortably mood.—E. & O., op. cit., V, pp. 146-48.

¹ Ibid., p. 28.

² At the death of Salim Shah, the Sikh Empire broke up into several parts. Iskander Shah, to whose share the Punjab had fallen, had since attacked British the ruler of Delhi and Agra and had driven him from his headquarters, while Adil Shah, the real sovereign, was carrying on operations against both.—Sphenonox, op. cit., p. 423.

'Sikandar Afghan, who held possession of Delhi, sent 30,000 men under Tahir Khan and Haidar Khan to attack the advance forces in Sefard. The Chaghatay forces concentrated at Jalandhar and for all the numbers of the enemy and their own paucity, they were ready to fight. They advanced and opened the battle. As the sun went down a great battle began.

The Afghans began the battle with their archers, but as it was getting dark, the arrows took little effect on the

The Battle of Mughals, but the Afghans being greatly annoyed by the fire (cannon) threw themselves into a neighbouring village. As most of the houses in the village of Mandirka were thatched, a fire broke out, and lighting up the field of battle, the (Mughal) archers came out and plied their weapons bravely by the light of the burning village. The victory in the glare of the day, possessed a fine mark for their darts, and being unable to endure longer, took to flight.

A great victory was gained, and elephants and much spoil fell into the hands of the victors. When the news of the victory reached Lahore, the Emperor was greatly delighted, and showed great honour to his generals. All the Panjabs, Multans, and Hindu-Poona were now in his possession, and none of the dependents of Delhi also were in the hands of the Mughals.

'On hearing of the defeat, (Sultan) Sikandar Afghan marched forth to take his revenge, with 80,000 horsemen and elephants and artillery. He marched to Sahind and there he encamped and fortified his camp. The Chaghatay generals strengthened the fortifications of Sahind and making a good show of resistance, they wrote letters to Hamidkhan for reinforcements. Thereupon he sent Prince Akbar towards Sahind, and as he approached the generals came out to meet him. The forces were divided into a group with the greatest show against the enemy, who were but more more numerous than the Mughals.

For some days during which in both armies challenged each other to combat and displayed their valor, till at length

The Battle of the Mughals, theanguard of Prince Akbar was drawn up for battle. A second division under Buzurg Khan (Khan-Khanan) on the one side, and on the other a third division under Iskandar Khan... attacked the enemy. In the engagement all the parties exhibited dauntless courage and the most determined resolution. The Afghans 100,000 in number, were defeated, being driven in confusion, and (Sultan) Sikandar fled.

The victors pursued the enemy and put many of them to death; and having secured an enormous booty, returned triumphant to Hind upon the Emperor and congratulate him. Under his orders a despatch of the victory was drawn, in which the honour of the victory was awarded to Prince Akbar and still was circulated in all directions.'

"This victory," says Ferishtah, "decided the fate of the Empire; and the Kingdom of Delhi fell forever from the hands of The Afghans."

Sikandar Khán Ulugh was then sent on to Delhi, and the royal camp was moved to Samarkand. A body of Afghans in Delhi made their escape in hot haste, and Sikandar Ulugh entered and occupied the city. Mir Abul Maali was sent to Lahore to keep in check (Sikander) Sikandar who had fled into the Swedish mountains. "In the month of Rabi-ul Awwal (Evd July 1555) the Emperor entered Delhi and once more the *Alahs* was read, and the cities were stamped with his name as the territories of Hindustan. The chiefs who had taken part in the campaign were most liberally rewarded, and each one was made the ruler of the province. The remainder of this year was spent in ease and enjoyment."

"But now, the most extraordinary event occurred. On the 8th *Rabi-ul Awwal*, at sunset, the Emperor ascended to the top of the library, and there stood for a short time. As he was descending the ministers cried aloud the summons to prayer, and he presently sat down on the second step. When he was getting up again, his foot slipped, and he fell from the stairs to the ground. The people in attendance were greatly shocked, and the Emperor was taken up quickly, and carried into the palace. After a short time he rallied and spoke. The Court physicians exerted all their powers but in vain. Next day he grew worse, and his case was beyond medical help. Sheikh Jull was sent to the Persian to summon Prince Akbar. On the 15th *Rabi-ul Awwal*, 963 A. H. (30th January, 1556), at the setting of the sun, he left this world for paradise. The date of his death is given in the line—"*Rasulullah Allahh al-hamdu*."

By a strange coincidence as it were, sometime before his death, Humayun used to repeat with deep emotion, and tears gelling from his eyes, the following mystical verses, which he had heard from a supernatural voice:—

[O Lord, if Thine infinite goodness make me Thine own;

1. Briggs II, p. 178.

2. "I lately saw," writes Humayun, "after midnight to say the stated prayers, and afterwards retired upon to rest; when just before dawn, as I was lying, my eyes shut but my heart awake, I heard a supernatural voice clearly repeat these verses:—[Kashmir, op. cit., p. 322]."

*Make me a possessor of the knowledge of Thy attributes,
I am broken-hearted from the sorrows and sorrows of life;
O tell to Thine Thy poor mediocrity (lover).
O grant me my release!*"

CHARACTER AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Nizâm-i din Ahmad, whose narrative we have mainly followed for the life of Hamîdîya, concludes his *Contemporary Estimates* account of him with the following estimate of Hamîdîya's character: "He reigned for more than 25 years, and he was 51 years of age.¹ His angelic character was adorned with every manly virtue, and in courage and heroism he excelled all the princes of his time. All the wealth of Hamîdîya would not have sufficed to maintain his generosity. In the sciences of astrology and mathematics he was unrivalled. He made good verses, and all the learned and great and good of the time were admitted to his society and passed the night in his company. Great decorum was observed in his receptions, and all learned discussions were conducted in the most orderly manner. The light of favour shone upon men of ability and worth, during his reign. Such was his clemency that he repeatedly pardoned the crimes of Mîrâ Kîlânî and the Chaghatai nobles, when they were taken prisoner and were in his power. He was particular about his obligations (sawab), and never allowed the name of God to pass from his tongue until he had performed them. One day he called Mîr Abu'l Hîs, the ruler or Chief Judge, by the name of Abdul. But when he had gone through his obligations he apologised, and said, that as Hîs was a name of the Almighty he was unable to use that name before performing purification. Every apparent and conceivable virtue was manifest in him. May God have mercy on him! (Nizâm-i din Ahmad, *Fatah-i Akbar*; E. & D., op. cit., V., p. 140.)

Among the contemporary estimates of Hamîdîya, that of his uncle Mîrâ Hîshar will be always considered the most valuable for

¹ Hamîdîya was 46 and not 51 years of age at the time of his death. "Although more than 25 years had elapsed since the death of Hîshar, in 1500, the effective reign of Hamîdîya, including both his first and second periods of rule, had extended for only about ten years."—(Smith, O. R., p. 324.)

its intimacy as well as truthfulness. For, 'No one of my Indian or Sultan of the race, who had been in the Emperor's service,' he writes, 'had ever been honoured in such a way as I. Mahmud Haidar Kanika, was, who being the approved friend of such a Prince as the Emperor, was not only called "brother" but was chosen as "son".'

'Haidar Parthia was the eldest, greatest and most renowned of Babar's sons. I have seen few persons possessed of so much natural talent and confidence as he, but in consequence of frequent intercourse with the sensual and profligate men who served him, he had contracted some bad habits; among these was his addiction to opium. All the evils that have been set down to the Emperor, and become the common talk of the people, are attributable to this vice. Murad-bek he was endowed with excellent qualities, being brave in battle gay in fest, and very generous. In short he was a dignified stately sovereign, who observed much state and pomp. When I entered his service at Agra, it was after his defeat, and people said that, compared with what had been, there was nothing left of his pomp and magnificence. Yet, when his army was arrayed for the Ganges campaign (in which the whole direction devolved on him), there were still 17,000 menials in his retinue, from which circumstance an estimate may be formed of the rest of his establishment.' (*Lana-Pool's, Hist. India from Constantine to Aurang.* p. 58.)

Parthia says, 'Haidar was of elegant stature, and of a bronzed complexion. The address and benevolence of Haidar's character were extensive, if there can be named in such noble qualities. He was a prince of great integrity, and possessed the virtues of charity and magnificence in a very high degree. He was skilled in the sciences of geography, and delighted in the company of learned men. He was regular in his devotions, and abstemious and never pronounced the name of God without having performed the latter ceremony.' (Briggs II, p. 156). "Haidar was a prince as remarkable for his will as for the ability of his measures; and for the most part disposed to spend his time in social intercourse and pleasure. His devoted himself, however, to the sciences of astronomy and geography; and not only wrote dissertations on the nature of the elements, but had terrestrial and celestial globes constructed for his use." (*Ibid.*, pp. 70-71)

"Like Akbar his education and taste were entirely Persian,

—
Sura, Muslim
Estimates

but while Timur and Akbar were strong military
characters and men of action, never allowing
themselves to be tamed from any set purpose,

either from the prospecting of a world or the prophecies of a
sooth-sayer, Humayun was but a weak dissolute who sought the
advice of the court astrologers in all state affairs.¹ . . . In spite of
these prejudices the stars in their courses fought against Humayun
... His shallowness and defects of character were covered by the
sufficing grace of cheerfulness. Like most of the great Moghals, he
was for life intimate friends a prince of good fellows. He was never
wanting in personal courage, but the extinction of the Moghal
dynasty was more due to the studious loyalty of his ministers and
to the weakness of Sher Shah's descendants, than to his own mili-
tary capacity. The contrast between Sher Shah and Humayun
could not be better illustrated than it is in the two great monuments
which perpetuate their memory. Humayun's mausoleum at Delhi
portrays in its polished elegance the facile character and rather super-
ficial diffidence of the Persian school, whose best title to fame is
that he was the father of Akbar; Sher Shah's at Bidwah, the stern
strong man, against and empire-builder who trampled all his enemies
under foot, and ruled Hindustan with a rod of iron." (E. B. Havell
Aryan Race in India, pp. 423-4, 440-9).

"Though not deficient in intelligence, he had little energy,
and though free from vices and violent passions, he was no less de-
void of principles and affections. By nature he was more inclined
to ease than ambition, yet as he had been brought up under Akbar,
and accustomed to bodily and mental exertion, he never was want-
ing to the exigencies of his situation, or quite lost the advantages of
his birth and position, though he never turned them to the best

1. "He never gave balls or entertain to be held, in which he en-
tertained persons according to their rank. The first called the Palace of the
Moon, was set apart for ambassadors, ministers and travellers. In the
second, called the Palace of Venus, civil officers and persons of that dis-
tinction, were received; and there were five other palaces for the remain-
ing five planets. In each of these buildings he gave public audience, accord-
ing to the planet of the day. The furniture and paintings of each, as also
the dresses of the household attendants, bore some symbol emblematic of
the planet. In each of these palaces he entertained business for one day
in the week."—Forsters; Rogers, II, p. 71.

naught. He was not naturally either cunning or cruel; and if he had been a limited monarch in Europe, he would most likely not have been more treacherous or bloodier than Charles II. (Ephraïm Stone, *History of India*, pp. 452, 471.)

"His character attracts but never dazzles. In private life he might have been a delightful companion and a staunch friend. In virtue was Christian, and his whole life was that of a gentleman. But as a king he was a failure. His name means 'fortunate' and never was an unhappy sovereign more miscalled. His end was of a piece with his character:—If there was a possibility of falling, Humayūn was not the man to miss it. He tumbled through life and he tumbled out of it." (Lane-Poole, *Medieval India*, p. 219, 227.)

"Humayūn, although a cultivated gentleman, not lacking in ability, was deficient in the energetic promptitude of his venustic father. His addiction to opium probably explains his failure to a considerable extent." (Smith, *Oxford History of India*, pp. 325-6.)

"Sweet, genial, witty, a charming companion, highly educated, generous, and merciful, Humayūn was even less qualified than his father to found a dynasty on principles which should endure. Allied to his many virtues were many compromising defects. He was volatile, thoughtless, and untidy. He was swayed by no strong sense of duty. His generosity was apt to degenerate into prodigality, his attachments into weakness. He was unable to concentrate his energies for a time in any serious direction, whilst for complete leisure indulgence he had neither the genius nor the inclination. He was thus severely unfitted to consolidate the conquest his father had bequeathed to him."—(Malleson, *Asher*, p. 461.)

"The real character of Humayūn may be better gleaned from the events of his reign than from the representations of his historians.

He was a man of great quickness of parts, but volatile, thoughtless and untidy. Personally of distinguished bravery he was occasionally successful in war, without possessing the higher talents of a general. In the earlier part of his reign, surrounded by the veteran officers and well-trained army which his father had left him, he over ran, first the kingdoms of Mithā and Gajās, and next those of Bihār and Bengal, very important and glorious acquisitions, but destitute of those powers of combination which are necessary for consolidating and retaining a conquest, as bravery and a well-discip-

freed them are for making it, he was compelled to abandon them all, and the greater part of his reign presented a series of reverses, rebellions, and anarchy—the fruit of his lack of political firmness and determination.

His disposition was naturally generous, friendly and affectionate to his nearest kins, frank and winning. He seems to have been considerate to his servants, and popular in his intercourse with the lower classes—but down to the day of his death he was the prey of his flatterers and favourites. From his father he inherited the fondness of literature and the arts, and he delighted in the society of literary and useful men. He was not only an admirer of poetry, but himself a writer of verses. He is also said to have made considerable progress in mathematics and astronomy. He liberally patronised such as were engaged in these studies, and procured several of them to offices of trust. At the time of his death, he was about to construct an observatory, and had collected the necessary instruments for that purpose. A floating palace, several stories in height, with a garden and a hall of music, which is constructed at Agra on ships lashed together and connected by platforms, and floated down the Jumna, has been celebrated; and several other of his contrivances gained him renown for the mechanical arts. ... But though Humayun was brave and good tempered, liberal and fond of learning, his virtues all bordered on neighbouring defects, and produced little fruit. There seems to have been a simplicity in his mind that neutralised his good qualities, and a fatality seemed to attend on his deeds.—(*English History of India*, II. pp. 320-32, 324-25.)¹

HUMAYUN'S PLAN FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EMPIRE

From the time when Humayun arrived in Delhi, he devoted himself to a general superintendence of the affairs of his kingdom, and to watching the progress of his armies which he had sent in various directions to reduce provinces. He saw clearly that there were great defects in the system of government of the Empire, and set himself to devising means of improving it. The plan which he proposed was to separate the Empire into several great divisions, each of them to have a local capital, and a board of administration for directing local affairs. Delhi, Agra, Kanauj, Jaunpur, Mirat, and Lahore were among the capitals fixed upon.

¹ Also read S. M. Jaishankar, op. cit., pp. 41-42.

To each of them was to be assigned a considerable military force, under an able general, so as to render it independent of assistance from the others, while the Emperor was to give unity to the whole, by visiting them in turn with an army of about 12000 horse, which were to be under his own immediate command, and at all times ready to move at any direct plea. This plan, however, he never had time, had he even perceived with exact accuracy, to carry into execution."—*Erskine*, *op. cit.*, II. pp. 225-27.

The distinctive character of Huseyniyeh's regime is perhaps best illustrated in the following extracts from the writings of Khwānsār who died in Huseyniyeh's service during the Qajār campaign:—

'When the suspicious throne was filled by this dignified and brave monarch, all the officers of the State and nobilitates

Classification of the kingdom were divided into three classes. The first class consisted of the King, the nobles and ministers, as well as the military men were called *Alī's* Dignified Officers of the State), because it is evident that according to the words "There can be no dominion without men," no degree of wealth and prosperity can be attained without the assistance of this class of brave and courageous people; and to one can obtain the throne and power without the aid of warriors and brave.

Kings with the assistance of their army,
Place their feet upon the throne of empire.
No alone can obtain wealth and rank
Who is assisted by his army'

'The holy persons, the great musicians (religious men), the respectable subjects, the learned, the law-officers, the scientific persons, poets, besides other great and respectable men formed the second class; and were designated *Alī's* Scholars (great men), because, to obtain honour and regard these people, and to associate with such men, secures eternal prosperity, and enables men to rise to high dignities and ranks.

"Virtue is the gift of God :
, It is not in the power of the mighty men to obtain it
If you wish to obtain fortune,
You must associate with virtuous men'

"Those who possessed beauty and elegance, those who were young and most lovely, and also other musicians, and sweet singers, composed the third class, and the appellations of *Alī's* Pleasures (people of pleasure) was conferred on them, because most people take delight in the company of such young-looking men, of sweet cheeks and sweet voices, and are pleased by hearing their songs, and the pleasing sounds of the musical instruments, such as the bag, the sarūd and the lute

'The hope of the heart of lovers
Is never realized but when they meet persons whose cheeks
are rosy.

He who is fond of hearing songs and music
Has the gates of happiness opened for himself.

The work of all the people composing the three classes was divided into twelve orders or ranks, and every one received a grade and rank suitable to himself. Arrows of different standards of gold were distributed by means of which the distinction of rank and station among servants of the throne was marked. The twelfth arrow, which was made of the purest gold, was put in the emperor's quiver of the king and nobody could dare to touch it. The eleventh arrow belonged to His Majesty's relatives and brothers, and all the nobles who were in the Government employ. Tenth, to the great warlike chiefs, and the learned and religious men. Ninth, to the great nobles. Eighth, to the officers and some of the King's personal attendants. Seventh, to the attendants in general. Sixth, to the ladies and to the well-betitled female attendants. Fifth, to young maidens. Fourth, to the treasurer and stewards. Third, to the soldiers. Second, to the music servants. First, to the palace guards, constables, and the like. Each of these arrows or orders had three grades, the highest, the middle, and the lowest.

Another of the arrangements of this King was, that he divided all the affairs of Government into four Departments, after the number of the four elements, viz. *Shind*, *Khush*, *Jin*, and *Khair*, and for the conduct of the business of these Departments he appointed four ministers. The Department to which belonged the military and the making of arms, weapons of war, and various sorts of engines and other such things as which war-work was taken of first was called *Shind*, and the superintendence of this Department was placed under *Khushig* *Amulag* *Shah*, and the law of his name reflected the words of the hearts of those who were employed at those works. The duties connected with the husbandry, horses, stables, and other great and important offices belonged to the *Khush* Department, and the care of them was entrusted to *Khushig* *Lushala*. The *Sharkut*, *Khosh*, *Asij*, *Khosh*, the digging of canals, and all the works which related to water and rivers, were committed to the *Jin* Department, and its superintendant was *Khushig* *Hazan*. Agriculture, erection of buildings, reconstruction of *Khosh* lands and some household affairs formed a Department which was called *Khair*, and this was placed under the management of *Khushig* *Khushig* *de* *Khair* *Bag*. The supervision of all the four Departments was entrusted to the best of nobles, the most learned man, *Amir* *Wali* *Muhammad*.

According to this classification, the wise King also divided the days of the week, and appointed one day to each of the three classes. Thus, Saturdays and Thursdays were fixed for poor men, and visits were received on those days from literary and religious persons. On these two days the

Apparliament
of 1200

use of hope of the celestial gods of the people produced the fruit of prosperity by their obtaining audience in the paradise-residing Court. The reason why those two days were appointed for this class was that Sunday is ascribed to Saturn, who is the protector of good and religious men and persons of old respectable families; and Thursday is corresponded to Jupiter, who is the governor of the wise, the learned men and the great influence of the Mohammedan law. Sundays and Thursdays were fixed for the State affairs, and all the Government business, and duties connected with the management of the country were discharged on these days. The King, destroyer of enemies, sat in the public Court, and consequently all the suits and pleas were able to decide the manner of seeing him. The advantage in appointing these two days for opening the Court, and attending to the State affairs was, that Sunday belongs to the Sun, to whom according to the will of God is attached the fate of all rulers and kings, and Thursday is the day of Mars who is the genius of warriors and brave men. Hence, it is evident that to select the throne of sovereignty as the public Court-hall by the royal majesty on these two days, and to devote himself to the discharge of the government duties was very proper.

* Amongst the other customs which were introduced by the god and goddess King and were observed on the days of the seasons, one was, that when he assumed the throne of sovereignty by sitting on it, drums were beaten, to inform the people, who, immediately on hearing of their news, came to see him, and when he left the Court, the gates were shut to let the people know that they might retire. Also on those days the keeper of the wardrobe used to bring some coats of fine apparel and the treasurer some pieces of money, and they placed them in the Court, in order that rewards and bribes might be given to any one of them, and no body should raise plea. And also that several people who resembled Bahman, having put on coats of mail, and taken blood-drinking oath in their hands, stood before the throne to salute and petition those who might be proved guilty. Mondays and Wednesdays were allotted for pleasure parties, and on these days, some of the old companions and chosen friends were summoned, and a band of musicians and singers was called, and they were all satisfied in their wishes. The cause of appointing these days for this purpose was, that Monday is the day of the Moon and Wednesday of Mercury, and it was therefore reasonable that on these days he should keep company with young men beautiful as the Moon and treat them with delightful music. On Fridays, at the name Juma Sabat, he called together all the assemblies, and sat with them as long as he found leisure from his other duties.*

(*Chahar-Nama*, E. & D., op. cit., V. pp. 117-121).

SHER SHAH AND HIS SUCCESSORS

AUTHORITIES¹

ARABIC

1. **Primary.** (1) *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, also called *Tarikh-i-Akbar Shahi*, by Abul Khair Surkhinda, written by order of Akbar. The author himself says that he was connected by marriage with the family of Sher Shah, and "so had peculiar sources of information as to the life and character of that adventurous and national chief, whose craft and valour won a crown." Dowson, however, says, "It is a biography, not a history," though he admits, "this work has fortunately preserved the means of forming a judgment of his (Sher Shah's) character and talents." (Extracts in E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 308-313. Later writers like Nikomah-d-din and Sadkhan draw largely from Sarwadi.)

2. *Makhlûs-i-Akhlûs of Nikmah-i-Sâh* (see Dowson's *History of the Afghans*, Bk. II, pp. 39-142, pub. 1879). "Thence alone," says Qassemi, "has been preserved a faithful summary of Abul Sarwadi's work, with the exception of its concluding chapter." (*Sher Shah*, p. 324). See E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 70.

3. *Tarikh-i-Sâh of Abul-Sâh*, written in the reign of Jahangir. Extracts in ibid., IV, pp. 434-443. "Abul-Sâh," says Qassemi, "has in many cases borrowed the very words of Nikmah-i-Sâh. Here

¹ From Briggs' *Persiana*, vol. II, p. 38-39.

1. Prof. Qassemi divides the contemporary writers into (1) Afghan and (2) Non-Afghan, and points out:—"This division is important because the former, owing to national sympathy and natural bias, are supposed to be friendly and even indulgent to Sher Shah, while the latter are either hostile, indifferent or neutral according to the circumstances under which their works were composed."—*Sher Shah*, p. 437.

and there he gives valuable pieces of information" (*Sher Shih*, p. 435). It is interesting to note that this medieval character wrote: "History is not simply information regarding the efforts of kings who have passed away, but it is a mirror which expands the mind and furnishes the wise with examples." (*K. A. D.*, op. cit., IV, p. 434).

Non-Arabian

4. Works like the *Memories of Akbar*, *Tārīkh-i Padshāh*, *Maushaf-i-shah*, *Tārīkh-i-Farīd*, etc., cited already as authorities for Shih and Humayūn are also valuable supplementary sources for this period and not vice.

5. *Tahzīb-i Akhbar* of Mahmūd al-dīn Ahmad (see Authorities for next chapter) is valuable, as the testimony of Mahmūd al-dīn in favour of Sher Shih has greater weight than that of Abū al-Sarīf. (*Qasas*, op. cit., p. 442).

6. *Mushafat-i-Farīd* of Abū al-Qādir Badkhubi "He often writes from personal knowledge and his account of the Shih dynasty, especially of the reign of Ismā'īl Shih, is of great importance. There is a freshness and originality in his work which we must cherish" (*Ibid.*, p. 443).

7. *Akbar-Nāma* of Abū al-Faḍl "presents Sher Shih and Ismā'īl Shih in the same colour as the Court historians of Aḥmadnāgar, two centuries afterwards, painted the great Mughal hero Shāhjī and his son." Nevertheless, where he praises Sher Shih's administrative ability, as he undoubtedly does, he "is certainly more valuable than the most fulsome eulogy of Abū al-dīn." (*Ibid.*, p. 444) The *Alam Akbari* by the same writer has some valuable references to Sher Shih's land settlement and revenue system. "Alam V, VI, and VII, in which various instructions are given to the revenue officials, are based on the regulations (qānūn) of Sher Shih and Ismā'īl Shih." (*Ibid.*, pp. 444-45).

8. *Tārīkh-i Farīd* has practically nothing new to say. "The tradition of the descent of the Shih from the royal house of Ghazni, which is perhaps his only original contribution, is baseless" (*Ibid.*, p. 445).

EUROPEAN WRITERS

9. "The Portuguese writer Martin Alfonso De Melo first landed at Chingping in 1583 A.D. The Portuguese Captain visited

Cent is that year when war broke out between Mahmūd Shāh and Sher Shāh. In this war the Portuguese rendered great help to Mahmūd Shāh. The Portuguese historians Castelneda and others have left good accounts of the war between Mahmūd Shāh and Sher Shāh and of the struggle of Hemūryān with Sher Shāh. The important source of Indian history has not yet been utilized." (*Ibid.*, p. 447).

3. *Summary*. 1. *Sher Shāh* by Prof. Kishorendra Chandra Kar, Mysorekar & Co., Calcutta, 1921. His call Sher Shāh "the greatest administrative and military genius among the Afghans."

2. *The Successors of Sher Shāh* by Nihal Chandra Ray, Deccan (1924).

3. *India's History of India*, vol. II (Humbly) already noticed. It according to Prof. Chandra, writes a small compass "a masterly sketch of the career of Sher Shāh. His estimate of the administrative genius of Sher Shāh (pp. 443-444) deserves credit."

4. *Afghanistan's History of India* removes several persistent errors of British historians.

CHAPTER IV

THE SIX INTERREGNUM

"This Afghan is not to be dissuaded by talk; he may seem to be a great man yet . . . Keep an eye on Sher Shāh. He is a clever man, and the marks of royalty are visible on his forehead."—*Shāh*

"Alas, that I should have attained power, only at the close of the day!" *Shah Ismail*

"It was the rare good fortune of the house of Timur that they were able at last to regain their heritage of conquest, strengthened by the work of the Afghan Sher Shāh, an administrator of marked originality, who, all unwittingly built for the Muslims that structure of the administrative machinery which, while it was necessary for securing the triumph of the new ideal of knowledge they represented, they had been entirely unable to construct for themselves."¹

In this brief statement, Rudenstam Williams has admirably summed up the place of the Six Interregnum in the history of the Muslim Empire. Moreover, as the events of Humayūn's first

¹ Rudenstam Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

reign were inevitably connected with the fate of Sher Shah, his reformations and recovery of the Empire were bound up with the misfortunes of Sher Shah's descendants. The sad contrast between Babur's brilliance and Humayun's political incapacity also finds a sharp echo in the Afghan episode: both pointing to the same moral for us, viz., the fatal incapacity of monarchical rule often grows to transcend itself unperceived.

We have already followed a substantial part of Sher Shah's career in his triumphant duel with Humayun. Here must be attempted a more comprehensive study of his life and character.

4. EARLY LIFE

'Sher Shah was born in the reign of Sultan Bahadur (1480-85),

1. Ancestry. and they named him Farid, whose ASBID: Sher Shah in his FATHA-I Sher SHAH.

It was in the 'City of Victory' Haidar-Pur (Dadu District) founded by Feroz Shah Taghik. The year, according to Qasim, may have been 1485 A.D.¹

'The grandfather of Sher Shah, by name Ibrahim Khan Sar, with his son Hasan Khan, the father of Sher Shah, came to Haidar-Pur from Afghanistan'. . . They settled in the province of Samarkand. Later, Jemid Khan Samarkand of Haidar-Pur bestowed on Ibrahim 'several villages in province Mawar' for the maintenance of forty horsemen'. Hasan Khan entered the service of Umar Khan Khatib-Khat, who was 'counsellor and country of Sultan Bahadur'. Umar Khan gave 'several villages in the province of Ghazni as a gift to Hasan Khan'. After Ibrahim's death Hasan Khan also received his father's gift 'with several villages, in addition to it'.

1. Khidr Khān, in the preface to his work, states: 'I derive my information from trustworthy Afghans, skilled in the science of history and chronic, who accompanied the King from the beginning of his reign to the end of his reign, and were employed in his residential service. I have written also what I have well ascertained from others. Whatever was opposed to the information thus ascertained, and could not stand the test of truth, I have rejected.'—(E. & O., op. cit. IV, p. 308).

2. Qasim, op. cit., p. 1.

3. 'From a place which is called in the Afghan tongue "Shar ghari" but in the Persian tongue "Fakara". It is a ridge, a spur of the Suleimān Mountains, about 4 or 5 kos in length, situated on the banks of the Gomal'—(E. & O., op. cit. IV, p. 308).

When Jamāl Khān was sent to the suburb of Jausplir by Shāhshīr Loah /who had succeeded Bahādd/, he took with him Sher Shāh's letter, being 'much pleased with Husein Khān's good service;' and 'gave him in sight the purposes of Samarra, Hingola, and Tondia, near Deccan, to maintain 500 horse.

Husein Khān had eight sons. Farid Khān and Nisān Khān were born of one Afghan mother,¹ the rest were born of slave-girls. 'Angry words often passed between Husein and Farid.' The latter 'amused with his father, went to Jamāl Khān at Jausplir,' where he 'was pleased himself studying Arabic and the biographies of most of the kings of ancient times. He had got by heart the *Sikandar-Nāma*, the *Ghazala*, and *Ishtihā*, etc., and was also reading the works of the philosophers.' Subsequently, whenever, during his reign, learned men came to ask for a remuneration (*ma'at* *ma'at*), he used to ask them about the *Mutawā-Ḥawāḥ*, and he still retained his liking for books of history and the lives of ancient kings.

'It happened after some years,' that Husein Khān came to Jamāl Khān when all his interests in Jausplir revolved round his having sent Farid away; and they agreed that Farid Khān, young as he was, gave promise of future greatness; that he bore the marks of excellence in his forehead, and that in all the tribes of Sūr there was none who possessed learning, talent, wisdom, and prudence like him; and he had qualified himself so well, that if Husein Khān would entrust him with the charge of a province, he could discharge it modestly well, and perfectly perform all his duties.'

When father and son were reconciled, Farid was given charge of the two provinces of Samarra and Khawāb.

1. Young Farid (in the present District of Shikohābād).
 2. Even so early as this (1511), the future Sher Shāh gave unmistakable evidence of his executive abilities and genius.

1. Farid lived at Jausplir up to his twenty-sixth year from 1501 to 1511. (Gurgaon, op. cit., p. 8.)

2. It was a frontier march on the southern side of Bhitā. To the south lay the nomads of the Bahāla hills, then inhabited by non-Aryan semi-independent peoples. Further south were the possessions of the independent Hindū Rājā of Bhitā; on the east was the Son river. To the west was the province of Chāndā which belonged to Muhammad Khān. For the future career of Farid, *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

"I shall devote myself to increase the prosperity of the district," he said to his father, "and that depends on a just administration."

Amala Kishin further tells us, "when he got to his office he said,—*'Let all the headmen (mugaddimans) and the subordinates (muzzims) on whose labour the prosperity of the district depends, and all the village accounts (jehans) settled my presence'*" When they came, he summoned also the soldiers, and thus addressed them—

"My father (also) has consented to use the power of appointing and dismissing you. I have set my heart on improving the prosperity of the district, in which object also your own interests are concerned, and by this means I hope to establish my reputation."

"When he had finished selecting the soldiers, he turned to the peasantry and said,—*"This day I give you your choice as to your mode of payment. Do whatever is most advantageous to your own interests in every possible way."*

"Some of the headmen asked for written agreements for a fixed money rent, others preferred payment in kind (kharab-e ghaleh). Accordingly he gave leases and took agreements, and fixed the payments for measuring the fields (jaridhah), and the fees for the tax collectors and assessors (mukaddimah); and he said to the residents and headmen,—*"I know well that the cultivation depends on the humble peasants; for if they be ill off they will produce nothing, but if prosperous they will produce much. I know the oppressions and exactions of which you have been guilty towards the cultivators, and for this reason I have fixed the payments for measurements and the tax-payers' fees,—that if you exact from the cultivators more on the amount than is fixed, it may not be credited to you in making up your accounts. Be it known to you, that I will take the accounts of the fee in my own presence. Whatever dues are rightly taken I will sanction, and compel the cultivators to pay them; and I will also collect the Government dues for the autumn harvest in the autumn, and for the spring harvest in the spring. For balances of Government dues are the ruin of a people, and the cause of quarrels between the cultivators and the Government officers. It is right for a ruler to show leniency to the cultivators at the time of measurement, and to have a regard for the actual produce, but when the time of payment comes he should show no leniency but collect the revenue with all strictness. If he pardons the cultivators he—vadj-*

ing parents, he should so chastise them as to be an example to others not to act in the same way."

He then said to the peasants, "Whatever matter you have to represent, bring it always yourselves to me: I will tell ye one to oppress you." Having thus addressed them he directed them with honorary dresses, to carry on their cultivation.

After dismissing the cultivators, he said to his father's officers, "The cultivators are the source of prosperity. I have encouraged them and sent them away, and shall always watch over their conditions, that no man may oppress and injure them: for if a ruler cannot protect the humble peasantry from the lawless, it is contrary to exact revenue from them. There are certain *schahdars* who have been behaving wickedly in these parganas, who have not presented themselves at the governor's court (*subhah-i-kashir*), do not pay their full revenue, and harass the villagers in their neighbourhood—how shall I condone and destroy them?" They replied, "Most of the troops are with Miran Khan, what a few days and they will return." Fard said, "I cannot have patience while they refuse to come to me, and continue to oppress and injure the people of God; do you consider what I can contrive against these rebels, and how I may chastise them?"

He ordered his father's soldiers to saddle 300 horses, and to see how many soldiers there were in the pargana, and he sent for all the Afghans and men of his tribe who were without *sighe*, and said to them, "I will give you substance and clothing till Miran Khan returns. Whatever goods and money you may get from the plunder of these rebels is yours, nor will I ever require it of you, and whoever among you may distinguish himself, for him I will procure a good *sighe* from Miran Khan. I will myself give you horses to ride on." When they had heard this they were much pleased, and said they would not fail in doing their duty under his auspices. He put the men who had engaged to serve him in good humour by all sorts of favours, and by gifts of clothes, etc. and presented them also with a little money. . .

Early in the morning, Fard Khan mounted and attacked the criminal *schahdars*, and put all the rebels to death, and making off their women and children prisoners, ordered his men to kill them as slaves; and brought other people to the village and settled them there. When the other rebels heard of the death, imprisonment, and

rule of these, they listened to wisdom, repented of their contumacy, and abandoned from theft and robbery.

"If any soldier or peasant had a complaint, Farid would examine it as a person, and carefully investigate the cause, nor did he ever give way to confusion or slack.

"In a very short time, both peasants became prosperous and the robbery and peasantry were alike contented. When Khin Hosen heard of this he was much pleased, and in all companies used to make mention of the prosperity of his peasants, the gallantry of his son, and the sobriety of the soldiers."

In spite of all this, however, Farid came again into favour with

4. Farid be-
came
Khalil 1216-25.

his paternal father, and for a time sought re-
fuge at the court of Hekimzadeh at Agha, un-
der the patronage of Daud Khan. When the

prince died on the gory field of Philopat (April, 1525), the young
adventurer went to Bahar Khan, son of Dargah Khan who had as-
sumed the title of Sultan Muhammad.¹ "Employing himself day
and night in his business, Farid gained Bahar Khan's favour, and
became one of his most intimate friends. In consequence of his
excellent arrangements, he became celebrated throughout the country
of Bahar."

One day he went out hunting with Bahar Khan, and a tiger
(shar) having been started, Farid Khan slew it. On account of this
glorious encounter Bahar Khan gave him the title of "Shar Khan
the Tiger Chieftain."

Shar Khan after this, getting help from Sultan Jusuf Barlas,

5. Shar Khan
slew the Moghals,
1517-25.

the Governor of Jampur, sought preferment
under Shihur at Agha.² There being admitted

to the court, he remained for some time among
the Moghals, was present at the siege of Chikodon, "acquainted

1. According to Qasragh, Farid governed his paternal estates for 7
or 8 years, from 1511 to 1518 or 1515. He went to Bahar Khan about
1525. (Ibid. *ibid.* pp. 24, 25-26). Dr. Harnett has pointed out that some
of Dr. Qasragh's "dates and events" have been corrected by Dr. P. Bares
in the *A. & O. S. S. J.* for March 1924.

2. "Just after the battle of Philopat the wandering Afghan chiefs
unopposedly set forth against rivals of their own race, resolved to Shihur
in the hope of obtaining their domestic enemies with the help of the
Moghals and gaining high positions for themselves." (Qasragh, *loc. cit.*,
p. 24).

himself with their military arrangements, their modes of governing, and the character of their soldiers." "If I had visited me," he is reported to have said among the Afghans, "and perhaps sized my friend, I could easily send the *Mughals* from *India*." The Emperor Bihār, with his keen insight into human character, observed to Khallid, his minister, "Keep an eye on Sher Khān, he is a clever man, and the marks of royalty are visible on his forehead. I have seen many Afghan soldiers, greater men than he, but they never made any impression on me; but as soon as I saw this man, it captured my mind that he ought to be arrested, for I find in him the qualities of greatness and marks of mightiness."

B. CONQUEST OF EMPIRE

Sher Khān was too disappointed a man to miss the significance of this observation. So he quoted Bihār's remark

1. By the First at the earliest opportunity.¹ "I have no longer any confidence in the *Mughals*, nor they in me," he declared. "I must go to Salim Muhammad Khān." When Salim Muhammad died, Sher Khān became the Deputy to his son Jalil Khān in the Government of Bihār and its dependencies, about October 1589.

The following year 1590, Sher Khān captured the important fortress of Chanderi. This may be considered the starting point of his career of aggression. The manner in which he came by it is thus described by Abulā Sarwāl:²—

Salim Ibrahim Lodī had entrusted the fort of Chanderi to Tilā Khān Sarang Khān, and the royal treasures were deposited in the fort. Now this Tilā Khān was altogether a slave to his love for his wife Lāl Mahla, who was a woman of great sagacity and

1. He was there at most for 25 months, from April 1587 to June 1591, when he got back his kingdom as a result of Bihār's eastern campaigns of 894 & 895 (Hind. pp. 48, 50-51).

2. Qasr-i-Jang 109, "Sher Khān joined with Salim Muhammad Lodī (or Abulā Sarwāl, Muhammadā, Farīdā, etc., say), but Salim Muhammad Lodī" (Hind., pp. 54-55).

3. "I, the author of this history of Sher Khān, Abulā Khān Bā Shāh Ab Sarwāl, have heard from my kinsmen and connections who were great soldiers and companions of Sher Khān that he got possession of the fort of Chanderi in the following manner." For fuller details of the incident see E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 343-44.

weakness. One night, Tū Khān's eldest son (by another wife) wounded Lāl Malika with a sword, but not fatally. Her servants complained to Tū Khān, who drew his sword, and ran out to kill his son. He, perceiving that his father was about to kill him for the sake of his wife, struck his father with his sword, and escaped out of the house. Tū Khān died of the wound.¹

Shēr Khān, after this incident, closely represented himself with Lāl Malika and married her.² By this means he not only got possession of the fort, but "she gave him a present consisting of 150 of the exceedingly valuable jewels, and 7 mow of pearls, and 150 mow of gold, and many other articles and ornaments."

Subsequent to this, Shēr Khān also got into his power and possession the persons near the fort of Chaurī, and further strengthened his resources by extracting 60 mow of gold from Qasim Hossain, the widow of Nūr Khān.

When Humāyūn had overcome Salīm, Mahamūd Lodi, and put the greater number of his followers to death, at the battle of Daulat, he sent Hindū Beg to take Chaurī from Shēr Khān, but the latter refused to give it up. Jauhar says, "When the victorious army of the Mughals reached Chaurī, Jūmī Khān, son of Shēr Khān, and several other nobles were within the fortress; the fortress was besieged for four months. When Shēr Khān saw that the fort would fall to-day or to-morrow, he made his submission and sent his own son, Kuth Khān, to the presence of His Majesty (Humāyūn) and secured peace."³ Thus he put off Humāyūn for the time being with clever but insincere professions of loyalty. Humāyūn withdrew and turned towards Gwalior, with a false sense of security in the eastern provinces.

"Never were the eastern provinces rendered so tributary to the throne of Delhi after the death of Salīm Shāhshāh (1517) as now," writes Qasim. "The indomitable Afghan leaders, Babar and Bāburzā, were killed; the country on the northern bank of the Ganges from the Ghazal to the Gandak (boundary of the kingdom of Deogiri) was as tranquil as ever. On the southern bank of the

1. 5. "The whole story," says Qasim, "is actually got up with the object of conveying us that Shēr Khān obtained Chaurī by legitimate means, from its rightful mistress Lāl Malika." (Shēr Khān, p. 71).

2. Ibid., pp. 70-2.

Ganges the possessions of Sher Khan were subdued, and he was forced to yield obedience and send his son to the imperial service. But the serpent was watched, not killed; and this loaded future trouble. When Humayun was resting in the bed of illness scarcity, it crept from the stock and gathered fresh strength. The seed of hiding enmity was sown between the two men.¹

To resume Akbar Khan's narrative, "Sher Khan took advantage of this opportunity, and did not leave one of his sons and young of his remaining throughout the kingdom of Bihar. He also began to persecute all Afghans. Many of them who had assumed the garb of religious mendicants on account of their misdeeds, he relieved and enlisted as soldiers, and some who refused to enlist, and preferred a life of mendicancy, he put to death, and declared he would kill every Afghani who refused to be a soldier. He was also very careful of the Afghans in action, that their lives might not be carelessly sacrificed. When the Afghans heard that Sher Khan was eagerly desirous of persecuting their men, they entered into his service from all directions."²

'Sultan Bahadur (of Gujarat) being defeated by Humayun, went towards Surat, and all the Afghans who were in his service, whether chiefs or common soldiers, came to Sher Khan.'

'When Nizam Khan (Nizam Shah) ruler of Bengal died, the nobles of Bengal made Sultan Mahmud his successor,³ but he was not able to manage the kingdom, and it fell into disorder. Mahmud Shah, nevertheless, conceived the design of compassing Bahar from the Afghans, and accordingly despatched Karb Khan with a large force for that purpose. Sher Khan earnestly and repeatedly remonstrated, but Karb Khan gave no heed to his remonstrances. Sher Khan consequently told his Afghans, "With the Mughals we are

1 Osmangh, op. cit., p. 75.

2 "When the son of Bahadur Shah's fortune took down in the Arabian Sea, that of Sher Khan arose almost simultaneously out of the Bay of Bengal, and shone resplendently in the eastern horizon."—*Ibid.*, p. 128.

3 This is a remarkable confirmation of Bahar's observation regarding the condition in Bengal (see E. & D. op. cit., IV, pp. 160-61). Nizam Shah died about December 1555, and was immediately succeeded by his son, Miran Shah, who was murdered by Mahmud Shah some time in May 1556.—Osmangh, loc. cit., p. 82.

said, and the army of Bengal on the other, we have no treasure here in our own brewery." The Afghans replied, "Be of good cheer, for we will fight to the utmost; we will never yield the field until we either conquer or die."

'Shir Khan having prepared for a sturdy resistance, met the enemy. A severe action ensued in which the Bengal army was defeated. Of the treasure, horses, elephants, etc., which fell into his hands, Shir Khan did not give any part to the Lohitah,¹ and so he became a man of wealth. This kindled the jealousy of the Lohitah's who thereafter became the enemies of Shir Khan. They tried to bring about his fall in several ways, not excluding murder. When they were failed in their attempts, they went over Jishi Khan (Shir Khan's nominal sovereign) to their side, and even intrigued with their enemy the King of Bengal.

'As soon as Shir Khan heard that Jishi Khan had gone over to the King of Bengal, he was much pleased, and said: "Now the kingdom of Bihâr has fallen into my hands. I felt certain that the army of the King of Bengal would assuredly come to attempt the conquest of Bihâr, and as rivalry existed between the Lohitah's and myself, I feared that the enemy should be victorious, for the worst enemy of Bihâr are Bihâris in your own army. Now that the Lohitahs are gone to Bengal, there are no quarrels in my army, and if there be no divisions among the Afghans, how can the Bengal army compare with them in the day of battle? Even the Mughals cannot equal them. Please God, when I have dispersed the Bengal army, you will soon see, if I survive, how I will equal the Mughals from Hindustan."

Events showed that these calculations of Shir Khan were not wrong. "After this Shir Khan began to strengthen himself, and enlist more men. Whenever there were any Afghans he sent for them, and gave them any money they asked. Having collected a very large force, and made every preparation, and having gained the goodwill of his army, he placed the country of Bihâr in his rear, and proceeded against the King of Bengal. "This campaign," says Qutnaga, "was destined to end in one of the most decisive battles

1. The Lohitahs as a tribe were the rivals of the Shirs. Shir Khan himself stated: "The Lohitahs are a much stronger and more powerful tribe than the Shirs, and the custom of the Afghans is, that if any man has too many men more than needed, he sends both of killing or dispossessing his neighbour."—E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 328.

of the medieval history of India. It was a turning point in the career of Sher Shah.¹ The following account of the engagement is given by Abul Khan:—

BATTLE OF SURASGARH - 1519

"When one watch of the night was yet remaining, Sher Khan awoke his forces and brought them out of their encampments, and after the evening prayer, he himself came out, and said to his chiefs, "In the enemy's army there are many elephants and guns, and a great force of artillery, we must fight them in such a manner that they shall not be able to preserve their original order. The Bengal cavalry should be drawn away from their guns and artillery, and the horses intermingled with the elephants so that their army may be disordered. I have thought of a stratagem by which to defeat the Bengalis. I will draw up the greater part of my horse behind the cover of that night which we are but will refuse for the attack a small number of experienced and veteran horse. Now, they will fight exactly in the same manner as they did on the former occasion, without any expectation of defeat. I will bring up my selected divisions, who after discharging one flight of arrows on the Bengal army, shall retreat."

The enemy is presumptuous on account of his superior force. He will think the Afghans are beginning to fly; and becoming eager he will leave his artillery and guns in the rear, and go on with all expectation of success, and disorder and confusion will find their way into his order of battle. I will then bring up my horse which had been concealed behind the elephants, who will attack the enemy. The Bengal cavalry, deprived of the support of their artillery and infantry, are by themselves unable to cope with the Afghans horse. I hope by the favour of God that their force will be routed and put to flight."

The result was just what Sher Khan had so shrewdly anticipated. "The whole of the treasure, elephants, and train of artillery fell into the hands of Sher Khan, who was thus supplied with much store of war, and became master of the kingdom of Bihar, and much other territory besides. Since God, the most holy and most

1. *Changiz*, op. cit., p. 66.

2. The site of this battle was somewhere on the banks of the Kid river, east of Bihar town. Abul Fazl says that Sher Khan fought the battle at Sitalpath on the boundary between the territories of the ruler of Bengal, and was a victory. Humayun is between the Ganges on the north and the Khargola hills on the south, the narrow plain of Surasgarh (about 5 miles in width) was selected the most suitable place for meeting with a raid. Owing to its strategic situation, it has been the scene of many a famous battle.—*Ibid.*, pp. 10-100.

3. Cf. William the Conqueror's tactics at the battle of Senlac.

detest, and persecuted from all eternity to give the Kingdom of Hind to Sher Khan, and that people of the Land should live in ease and comfort under the shadow of his justice, and that he should be a just and good ruler, his wealth daily increased, and the whole country gradually come into his possession.

In the beginning of May 1538, Sher Khan again turned upon Mahmud Shah, and began a war of conquest of his territories on the frontier of Bihar. "This came as a complete surprise to the sceptical voluptuary who dispensed the throne of regicide rulers like Shams Shah and Nasir Shah. Sher Khan's plan of campaign was one of slow, methodical conquest and annexation. His object was to wrest all the territories from Mahmud Shah on this side of Telugur¹. Mahmud Shah, like Elizabeth the Unready, sought him off for the time being with an indemnity of 25,00,000 gold pieces, even against the advice of his Portuguese allies. Encouraged by this, Sher Khan once more led a powerful army into Bengal in 1537. From the Portuguese historians we learn that Sher Khan sent his lieutenants to occupy outlying districts like Chittagong, while he himself invested Gaur, the capital of Bengal.

These activities of Sher Khan invited Hamdykhan's attention towards him. Abu'l Fazl says, 'Muzaffar took care of the conquest of Sher Khan and of his conquests in the eastern provinces. . . . Orders were issued to make preparations for an expedition to Bengal. It was decided that Sher Khan should be put down and the territories of Bengal should be subdued.'²

1. Sher Shah was never successful in the means he adopted to equip himself for the desired end of conquest; e. g. he took from Bala Pasha Malika the helpless widow of Shyamsul's brother Mahmud, who had sought his refuge and protection, 100 mace of gold to equip his army, and gave her only two *gungas* for her support and some ready money for her immediate expenses. For details see E. & D., op. cit. IV, pp. 161-66. 'This is an irretrievable act of spoliation of an helpless woman,' says Ganga, "and deserves unqualified condemnation. Even the plea of necessity, which is so often put forward to whitewash such acts, cannot be pleaded in favour of Sher Khan; because the money was not utilized in sub-dictions, and the case was not one of saving himself from impending ruin and annihilation. The huge amount was being squandered solely for the purpose of carrying out ambitious designs of aggression upon his neighbours. This act is one of those few which have left indelible blot upon his character" (Sher Shah, p. 111).

2. *Akbar Nama*, I, p. 126.

We have already followed the course of subsequent events. Sher

Khin defeated Hamtyrin at Chuvra, in 1266, and assumed the title of Sher Shih; at the battle of Bilgite, in 1268 Hamtyrin was finally routed and expelled out of the Empire. Here it is necessary to take note of only one incident belonging to this period, which, like the Tschingis story, throws light upon the misanthropic character of Sher Shih.¹ It is the manner in which he took possession of the great fort of Bokhta.

Sher Khin was in difficulties owing to the capture of Chuvra by Hamtyrin. There existed a friendly connexion between Sher Khin and the Rājā of the fort of Bokhta, and Churman, the Rājā's son, was on particular terms of intimate friendship and alliance with Sher Khin. This Churman was a Bohemian and had formerly shown kindness to the family of Sher Khin's brother Naitan, and procured their shelter in the fort of Bokhta. . . . On the present occasion Sher Khin wrote that he was in great straits, and that if the Rājā would give him the loan of the fort for a short time, he would be obliged to him all his days, and that when all danger was past he would again restore the fort. . . . Sher Khin also gave to Churman a bribe of 5 maut of gold, and said, "Persuade in any way you can the Rājā to give me the loan of his fort for a few days for my family; but if he will not give it, then I will go and make my peace with the Emperor Hamtyrin, and will renounce myself on everything belonging to the Rājā." . . . When the Rājā finally consented, Sher Khin treacherously ordered his own men, if the guards did not obey the order to leave the fort, to cast them by force. . . . Sher Khin placed his own guards and soldiers in every part of the fort, and drove the Rājā away from the fort. In the manner thus described he got possession of the fort of Bokhta. "The command received report that Sher Khin put lighted into dells and sent them into the fort as women, in altogether crimson and blue," writes Akhū Saratū, "for I, the writer of this history, . . . have inquired of several chiefs and nobles who were with Sher Khin in the affair."

The strategy, whatever the details thereof, was probably just-

1. If it is D, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 265 n. The relation of the dell story, says Qasim, does not in any way exempt Sher Khin of the charge of the treachery. . . . Sher Khin's present act was certainly not a fair return for the Rājā's good services. (Sher Shih, pp. 145-66).

ded by the importance of the place. For after taking possession of the fort, Sher Khan observed, "The fort of Ghazni is not a fort in comparison with this; as that fort gave out of my possession, this has come into it. I was not so pleased at the conquest of Ghor as I am in getting possession of Rohat¹."

Sher Khan was the first Muslim conqueror of this fort: he not only secured in it a safe retreat for the Afghan families but also came into possession of the vast treasure which had been accumulated there for ages by Hindu kings. Prof. Quenya thinks it must have come into Sher Khan's possession in May, 1522.

An admirable summary of Sher Khan's relations with Humayun—though only from the Afghan point of view—up to the battle of Chanderi, is contained in his address to his army just before that engagement. Assembling all his chiefs, he said: "I have promised peace to the Emperor Humayun, but I have considered that all the good services I have rendered him produced no good fruit; and after all my loyalty to him . . . he demanded from me the fort of Chanderi. When I refused to yield it, he sent a force to take it; and when that failed, he came himself to seize it by force, but abandoned his intentions when he heard that Mirza Muhammad Zarin had escaped from prison, and had raised a rebellion in the country. Mirzaer Sultan Ismailkhan, King of Gujrat, was coming to invade the country of Delhi and so he was compelled to return. I sent my son Kuth Khan with him throughout the Gujrat campaign, accompanied by 500 valiant horsemen skilled in the use of the sword. Though I could have taken possession of the country of Jaspur, etc., yet I did not commit any act of hostility, for the Emperor is mighty; and though I had the power, I would not do any disloyal and evil act, that the Emperor might perceive I was his faithful servant, and desist from seeking to injure me. When he returned from Gujrat, he got his army in readiness, and without regarding my loyalty, did his best to crush me; but as my fortune was great, he did not achieve his desire. I made every submission, but it was

1. Rohatpach is situated on the upper course of the river Ravi in an extremely fertile and fertile region. Its position on the map is 80° long, and 34° lat. "It is possibly the largest and strongest hill-fort in India," observes Quenya. Ferishta says, "Although the author has seen many hill-forts in India he has none more to compare with that of Rohat" (*Ibid.*, p. 121.)

2. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

all peaceful. When in violation of all his promises, he attacked Dargal, I lost all hope in his goodness, and apprehending evil from him, was compelled to declare hostilities against him, and I expelled his governors, and spoiled his country as far as Saabhal, and have not left a single Maghal in those parts. Now with what hope can I conclude this peace with him? He makes peace and maintains a friendly disposition towards me, because his army is so want of horses and cattle and every equipment, and because his brothers have rebelled against him. He is but playing with me, and eventually will not abide by this peace; but having appeared the rebellion of his brothers, on his arrival at Agri, and replenished his army, he will not fail to assault and destroy me. I have often experienced that the Afghans are braver in battle than the Maghals, who get the country from the dissensions of the Afghans. If my brothers advise me, I will break off the peace and will try my fortune."

Events, as we have seen, moved by Sher Shah's fortune. Chance and Akbar's gave the Empire of Hindustan to his Afghans rival Akbar's own declaration came true: 'The world is his who asserts himself.' We must now follow the rest of Sher Shah's brilliant career.

- (3) *Pursuit of Humayun.*—Sher Shah, being at his ease regarding the Maghals, wrote to Saja'at Khan,

1 After Kaas, 1540-41, whom he had left as jaghir, in the country of Bhatia and Rohita, to besiege the fort of Gualior. As soon as he received the message, Saja'at Khan went and besieged Gualior, from Kanauj. Sher Shah dispatched Bernardi Gaur with a large force in advance, but directed him not to hazard an engagement with the Emperor Humayun, and he also sent another force under Nizam Khan towards Sambhal. Having speedily settled the country about Kanauj, he betook himself in the direction of Agri.

"When Sher Shah approached Agri, the Emperor, unable to remain there, fled towards Lahore. Sher Shah was greatly displeased at this, and apprehended Bernardi very much, and on his arrival at Agri remained there for some days himself, but sent Khawaja Khan

"1. "Properly, *Khawaja Gaur*." Quinnes observes, "Hindus were allowed to hold positions of some importance in the army. One of Sher Shah's best generals was *Khawaja Gaur*" mentioned by Jankar and Akbar's *Barid*. "*Khaj Khan Shah of Gualior was another*"—(Ibid., pp. 598-79).

and Bernardi Gur in the direction of Lāhore, with a large force to pursue the Emperor).

On arriving at Delhi, the principal men and inhabitants of the city of Samāhid came and complained that Nāhir Khān had oppressed and tyrannised over them in various ways. Sher Shāh therefore, despatched Ibrāhīm, as a person endowed both with valour and justice, and placed Nāhir Khān under him. After this Sher Shāh breathed a sigh of relief, and said, "I am now at my ease regarding the whole country from Delhi to Lucknow."

Expressing himself to Hājī Khān, he then proceeded towards Lāhore. . . . On the third march beyond Lāhore, he heard that Mirān Khān had gone by way of the Judd hills to Nātol, and that the Emperor Humāyūn was marching along the banks of the Indus to Multān and Bhakkar. The King (Sher Shāh) went to Khanah, and thence despatched Khwāh Khān . . . and the greater part of his army, in pursuit of the Emperor, towards Multān. He instructed them not to engage the Emperor but to drive him beyond the borders of the kingdom, and then to return.

The Mughal division which had quitted the Emperor, and was marching towards Nātol, encountered Khwāh Khān and not being strong enough to fight, but leaving their drums and standards behind, which fell into Khwāh Khān's hands, and the Afghan army returning from that place rejoined Sher Shāh.

(H) *Baloch and Gakhwar*.—Sher Shāh delayed sometime at Khanah. While there Ismail Khān, Fāth Khān, and Qasīm Khān Balochi came and waited on him. . . . Sher Shāh confirmed Ismail Khān in the country of Sind. The chiefs of every tribe and family of Balch came to wait on him; and Sher Shāh wisely left these Baloch chiefs undisturbed in their possessions.

Then he marched with all his forces and retinue, through all the hills of Padman and Gakhak, in order that he might choose a fit

3. According to Gulistan-i-Baḡan-i-Dawūd the three months that the Emperor was at Lāhore, word was brought day after day: "Nāhir Khān has advanced 4 miles, 8 miles," all he was near Gāhid. . . . The Emperor sent him a Turkoman named Musāfir Bāg, with Khāt Khānshāh to Sher Shāh, to say, "I have left you the whole of Hindustān. Leave Lāhore alone, and let Sikand, where you are, be a boundary between you and me." But that saint, most, thanks of God, did not consent, and answered, "I have left you Sikand, you should go there." (Quoted by Quatref.)

ting site and build a fort there to keep down the Gakhars, in which he might have a garrison on the Killa road, when he himself returned. Having selected Rohilla,² he built there the fort which now exists, and laid waste the country of the Gakhars.³

(iii) *Bengal*.—In the midst of this, news came from Bengal that Khir Khān, the Governor of Bengal, had assumed the dignity of a king and defied his authority. So he set out himself for Bengal. There, 'instead of placing the whole province under one military governor, as had hitherto been the custom, Sher Shāh created several smaller governorships. The governors placed over these divisions were equal in status, and wholly independent of one another, in the administration of their respective areas. They were all directly appointed by him and were responsible to him alone. By this single stroke of policy, he struck at the very root of the evil of chronic rebellion.'⁴ He remained at Bengal for about seven months, from June 1541 to January 1542. Then he returned to Agra.

(iv) *Milād*.—In April 1542, Sher Shāh marched towards the country of Milād by way of Gakhars, in order to take on the rulers of Milād his revenge for their badmanneredness in assisting Kach Khān.⁵ At this time there were prisoners in the Kingdom of Milād who ruled independently. Mālā Khān who had assumed the title of king and the name of Khidr Shāh, held possession and rule of the

1. I have considered it one of the greatest landmarks between Turkey and India. The imperfectly related Gakhars 'made a vow among themselves that no one should serve as day-labourer in the construction of the fort. If any one set to the contrary, he must be destroyed.' . . . Todor Mol (who later became so very famous in the reign of Akbar) complained of it to Sher Shāh, who wrote in reply, that they should go on with the building though they paid for the stone its weight in silver. The fort was completed though the expenses were enormous. Sher Shāh called it 'Little Kalāha'. The *Tārīkh-i Dāsh* calls it 'New Kalāha', and adds, that it 'cost 8 lacs, 3 thousand, and 14 thousand, which means *ṣaḍṣāḥ*—all which is written over the gate of the fort' (R. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 418, also *Qasṣa*, op. cit., pp. 405-6).

2. *Ibid.* pp. 312-13.

3. Apart from this, *Qasṣa* gives two more political actions: (i) To move into direct touch with the Kingdoms of Gujarat and Malwa, through which the Mughals might break into Milād; (ii) to forestall the design of Malabar in Milād and crush Malabar's prospective allies before they could cause serious trouble. *Ibid.*, pp. 301-52.

city of Shahrshahid, that is to say, the fort of Mirdā, and of Ujjay, Sarangga, and the fort of Rastambhor.

When Sher Shah reached Sarangga, Abū Khān came and submitted. He was much impressed with the rigour, discipline and customs of Sher Shah's army, and said to the Afghans: "You submit yourselves to wonderful labours and exertions; night and day you have no rest; ease and comfort are things forbidden to you." The Afghans replied, "Such is our master's custom. It becometh a soldier, whatever service his chief may order, or whatever labour or exertion he may require, not to consider it a hardship. Ease is for women, it is shameful to honourable men."

Sher Shah assigned the country of Mirdā to Shujāt Khān and then returned to Agra, via Dair and Rastambhor.¹

(v) *Return*.—From Agra he went towards Bihar and Bengal, where he suffered an attack of fever and ague. After recovery he once again returned to Agra. When he arrived there, in all the pride of his state, he set off for the country of Mirdā, in the year A. H. 960 (1568 A. D.), and took the fort of Fatah.² This expedition, according to Abū Khān, had been provoked by the oppression of Musalman families by the High Priest, Mīr. But Prof. Ganga definitely says, "It was not undertaken out of a religious motive to punish Puri Mīr for mistreating the families of the Muslims of Chanderi, as the bigoted Muslim historians fondly believed. . . . No incentive of fanaticism was necessary, as the political object was a sufficient stimulus to move Sher Shah against Fatah. . . . One single fool-headed might overturn an empire, as Sher Shah could realize by contemplating the fate of Humayūn. So he determined to safeguard himself against unknown dangers by rooting out Rājput influence in Mirdā."³

Whatever might have been the motive and incentive for the attack, Puri Mīr and his companions, Abū Khān proceeds to tell us, 'like boys at play, failed not to exhibit valour and gallantry':

1. The fort of Fatah (long, 77°50', lat. 22°15') stands on the highest hill of a detached ridge of the Vindhya Mountains, stretching north and south for about 7½ miles, along the upper course of the river Betwa. On the N. and S. two mountain streams cut off this ridge from contiguous hills, and thus add to the strength of its defence. On the east it presents a formidable front of solidified red-sand, 1725 to 1780 ft. in height. (Ibid., p. 286.)

2. Ibid., pp. 285-86.

but in the twinkling of an eye all were slain. Such of their wives and families as were not slain were captured.' ... He made over the fort of Rasin to Mansi Shāhīn Khān Samīd, and returned himself towards Agni and remained at the capital during the rainy season.¹

(v) *Makha and Smith*.—About the same time as the fall of Rasin, Smith and Makha were conquered by Sher Shāh's general Babak Khān Nāib. The turbulent Bakoths were ever a source of danger to Makha. The conquest of these parts was of utmost importance for Sher Shāh. More than anything else it closed the route to Qandahar, via Sam, against Hamidya, by strengthening Sakhar and Shalidar to which he gave the name of Shargah. The conquest was completed by November, 1543.

(vi) *Alipathar*.—After the conclusion of the rains, Sher Shāh ordered that his conquering forces, beyond all calculation or enumeration,² should under the shadow of his victorious standards, march towards the country of Nagar, Agni, and Jodhpur, which belonged to *Mahdy*,³ the Rājā with whom Hamidya had sought shelter in vain.

1. For a full account of this incident see E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 337-338, also Qanung, op. cit., pp. 334-335.

2. This time about 7 or 8 months (July 1543 to Feb. 1544) according to Qanung) he ordered for building projects, administrative work, but solely military equipment on a large scale for his coming campaign in Alipathar. (Ibid., pp. 334-7).

3. 'Sher Shāh had as great an army, in this campaign,' says Akbar Khān, 'that the best calculators, in spite of all reflection and thought and calculation, were at a loss to number and reckon them, and they often ascended the tops of mountains that the length and breadth of the army might appear to them, but no ascending was for magnitude, that its whole length and breadth were never visible together and no mind old men of great age, whether they had ever seen or heard of so great an army, but they replied they had not.'—E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 401.

4. Makha occupied the district of Māroth in 1535. As his territory it was a small impoverished state of only second-rate importance. Within five or six years, however, by his shrewd policy and incessant activity, he reconquered the whole of Māroth proper from his powerful but disaffected vassals, annexed Nāibān, and considerably aggrandized himself at the expense of Lodikar, Māroth, and Anbar.—Qanung, op. cit., 333-334.

"When he arrived at Pathan-Ghat, he ordered that each division of the army should march together in order of battle, and should throw up an earthen entrenchment at every halting ground. On the way they encamped one day on a plain of sand, and in spite of every labour, they could not on account of the sand, make an encampment. Mahomed Khan, grandson of Sher Shah, said: "Let my Lord order that sacks should be filled with sand, and that they should make the entrenchment with the bags." Sher Shah was greatly delighted, and ordered that they should do likewise. When he approached the enemy Sher Shah contrived a stratagem; and having written letters in the name of Mahomed's nobles to this effect, viz., "Let not the King permit any anxiety or doubt to find its way to his heart. During the battle we will save Mahomed and bring him to you"; and having enclosed these letters in a *Khurda* or silver bag, he gave it to a certain person, and directed him to go near to the tent of the ruler of Maldeo, and remain there; and when he was out, to drop the *Khurda* on his way, and conceal himself.

"Sher Shah's agent did as he was ordered: and when the ruler of Maldeo saw the *Khurda* lying, he picked it up, and sent the letters to Maldeo. When the latter learned their contents, he was much alarmed, and fled without fighting. Although his nobles took notice of his flight, he did not heed them. Some of the chieftains, such as Jaga Chand and Gaba, and others, came and attacked Sher Shah, and displayed exceeding valour. Part of the army was routed, and a certain *Alghia* came to Sher Shah, and advised him in his native tongue saying, "Muzai, for the *Alghias* are routing your army." Sher Shah was performing his evening devotions, and reading the *Musul' ah'-e' aziz*. He gave no reply to the *Alghia*. By a sign he ordered his horse, and mounted, when news of victory was brought to the effect that Khwaja Khan had slain Jaga and Gaba with all their forces. When Sher Shah learnt of the valour and gallantry of these men, he exclaimed, "I had nearly lost the conquest of Delhi, for a handful of *Alghias* (robust men)."

"¹⁵⁵⁴—THEY arrived about March, 1554. "He left Khwaja Khan and his Khata Nika and some other chiefs in the country of Nagor, and himself withdrew. Khwaja Khan founded a city in his own name, still the fort of Jodhpur, and brought into his power and possession the whole country of Nagor and Ajmer, the fort of Jodhpur, and the district of Bharat. Maldeo went to the fort of Seetha, on the

border of Gujarat." Sher Shah, on silly misgivings, paid a flying visit to his capital, and reentered his camp at Agra, about the middle of June, 1544.

Next he turned to Chitor. Mota at this time was nearly prostrate; she seemed to have no more blood left to shed in defence of her capital. It was one of the darkest periods in the history of Rajasthan. The bearded Barabar, whom the distressed nobles of Mota had raised to the throne, had murdered the deformed Itimang, and would have done the same with the infant Uday Singh, but for his name Parman's noble sacrifice. The boy had been installed only two years before Sher Shah invaded. No wonder that when he was yet 12 he fled from the fort of Chitor, the Rajah who was to rule went here the boys. When Sher Shah came to Chitor he left in it the younger brother of Khawas Khat, Mota Ahmed Barabar, and Munim Khat Khilji. Sher Shah himself marched towards Kachhadra and thence to Killogar.

The Rajah of Killogar, Khat Singh, did not come out to meet him. So he (Sher Shah) ordered the fort to be invested, and threw up mounds against it, and in a short time the mounds rose so high that they overtopped the fort. The men who were on the streets and houses were exposed, and the Albigens shot them with their arrows and muskets from off the mounds. The cause of this tedious mode of capturing the fort was this: Among the women of Raja Khat Singh was a Farsi slave-girl, i.e., a dancing-girl. The King had heard exceeding praise of her, and he considered how to get possession of her, for he feared lest, if he stormed the fort, the Raja Khat Singh would certainly make a *farol*, and would burn the girl.

"The fortress of Killogar was besieged about the beginning of November, 1544 A.D. The natural strength of the fort was such as to baffle any attempt to storm it. The hill on which the fort stands has an elevation of 120 ft above the sea, and is isolated from the adjacent range by a chasm or ravine about 1,200 yds. wide. The rock rises rather steeply from the plain, and in the upper part have a nearly perpendicular face of 150 or 160 ft. in height, and in most places inaccessible. The fortifications are massively constructed of large blocks of stone laid generally without cement and about 25 ft. thick."

"On Friday, the 15th Rajwadi month, 952 A.H. when one watch and two hours of the day were over, Sher Shah called for his break-

fast, and ate with his slaves and guests, without whom he never breakfasted. In the midst of his breakfast Shakh Nader said "There is nothing equal to a religious war against the infidel. If you be slain, you become a martyr, if you live, you become a gladiator." When Sher Shakh had finished eating his breakfast he ordered Darvā Khān to bring loaded shells, and went up to the top of a mound, and with his own hand shot off many arrows, and said "Dervā Khān comes not, he delays very long." But when the shells were at last brought, Sher Shakh came down from the mound and stood where they were placed. While the men were employed in discharging them, by the will of God Almighty, one shell fell at gun-powder struck on the gate of the fort and broke and burst, and fell where a great number of other shells were placed. Those which were loaded all began to explode. Shakh Nader, Shakh Nader, and other learned men, and most of the others escaped and were not hurt; but they brought out Sher Shakh partially burnt. A young prince, who was standing by the rockets was burnt to death.

"When Sher Shakh was carried into his tent, all his nobles assembled to cheer him, and he sent for Isā Khān Hajib and Masūd Khān Kalkapūr, the son-in-law of Isā Khān and the paternal uncle of the author (Abdū Khān), to come into his tent, and ordered them to take the fort while he was yet alive. When Isā Khān came out and told the chiefs that it was Sher Shakh's order that they should attack on every side and capture the fort, men came and returned out actually on every side big arms and horses, and by the time of afternoon proper captured the fort, putting prisoners to the sword, and sending all the infidels to hell. About the hour of evening proper, the intelligence of the victory reached Sher Shakh, and marks of joy and pleasure appeared on his countenance.

"On the 10th Rabi-ul awwal, 962 A. H. (21 May, 1545 A.D.) Sher Shakh went from the hotel of this world to rest in the mansion of happiness, and ascended peacefully from the shade of this world to the lofty heavens; the date was discovered in the words as *shah mard, he died from fire*."

It is not certain whether Sher Shakh's body was buried at Kābil, or removed to the grand mausoleum erected by himself at Samsat—the home of his ancestors.* He had reigned for six months as King of Bengal and Juyghar, and for five years as the

1. *Qutub*, op. cit., p. 363.

Report of Hiralal. He might have been sixty years of age at the time of his death. "Thus passed away in the mid-career of victory and successful activity the great soldier and statesman, with whom there appeared for the persecuted Hindus the dawn of that era of toleration, justice, and equaliser of political rights, which broadened and dazzling dawn on the horizon of Akbar."¹

C. SHIR SHAH'S CAPACITY

Shir Shah was, according to all estimates, a man of varied talents and extraordinary gifts.² "In order to compare him with Henry VII as his design with the English policy, with Frederick William I. as Prussia's greatest internal king—in the 16th. cen. he belonged upon both history, legislation and civil administration, with Kautilya also, as a great practical outlook and political principles, and Akbar as the ruler of the world, and Akbar as the ruler of the world of all classes of his subjects. In fact, he was a combination of Akbar and Frederick the Great of Prussia." Enticoy says: "Shir Shah was one of the most extraordinary and able men who appears in the history of India. His character has been represented in very different lights by different authors. As he was long the grand enemy of the house of Timir, whom for a time he drove out of India, by their partition he has been drawn in very unfavourable colours.³ But the evidence of less prejudiced writers, and of facts, must restore to him the high name and honourable distinction that, with all the imperfections of his character, are justly his due."⁴

Shir Shah's life, whose principal events we have briefly narrated, is the best commentary on his character that any one can offer. Apart from his undoubted genius, the outstanding quality that explains his success is his capacity for incessant activity. "For," said he, "it becometh the great to be always active, and they should not consider on account of the greatness of their dignity and influ-

1. Quatrecas, op. cit., p. 342.

2. E.g. Abul Fazl refers to Akbar's institutions, which he compares as a revival of those of Akbar the Great, notwithstanding, most of them assumed after the downfall of the dynasty, and are spoken of by the same author along with many others of former sovereigns, as original creations of his master Akbar—Eubankson, op. cit., pp. 452-3.

3. Enticoy, op. cit., II, pp. 430-31.

ness of their rank, the affairs and business of the kingdom, equal or petty."¹ The incentive to this was, no doubt, his great ambition; but it was an ambition conceived by his rational patriotism engendered by his early studies and experience. When his father's unfair treatment drove him to Jauzale, he utilized the time in studying history, philosophy, and the biographies of ancient kings. "Subsequently," Abbis Khān informs us, "whenever during his reign, learned men came to ask him for a maintenance, he used to ask them about the *Fiakhri-i-Firakhi*, and he still retained his liking for books of history and the lives of ancient kings." When he was appointed to the administration of his father's *Alay*, he carried with him a high but modest sense of duty. "To please you I accept the management of the two districts. I will not fail to do my duty to the best of my power . . . I shall devote myself to increase the prosperity of the districts, and that depends on a just administration; for it has been said by the learned . . ." His tenure as *qajiqān*, short though it was, revealed his practical genius, as well as his great love for the welfare of the people entrusted to his care,—particularly the peasants. He always liked the company of the religious and the learned. Abbis Khān tells us, he never breakfasted except in the company of the scholars. But in moments of

1. The *Fiakhri-i-Firakhi* gives the following account of the daily routine of Sher Shāh's busy life:—

'Sher Shāh was occupied night and day with the business of his kingdom, and never allowed himself to be idle. At the end of each day, he arose, performed his ablutions, and said his prayers. Afterwards he called in his officers and managers to report all the concerns of the day. For four hours he listened to the reading of reports on the affairs of the country or on the business of the Government establishments. The officers which he gave were reduced to writing, and were bound and sealed up. There was no need of further discussion. Thus he remained engaged till morning arrived. When it was time for prayer, he performed his duties in a large congregation, and went through all the forms of prayer. Afterwards he received his soldiers and soldiers, and made inquiries as to the losses brought to revive their breach. Then he went out and made a personal inspection of his farms, and settled the allowances of such individuals by word of mouth till all was arranged. He then attended to many other affairs and settled accounts. Prayers were received from every quarter, and replies were sent; he himself dictated them in Persian, and the scribes committed them to writing. Every person who came to wait upon him was received in the palace.'—B. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 550-55.

action, he was his own best counsel. After the Russian expedition, he consulted his nobles of note, and the wise among his courtiers, and they said, "It is incumbent on the powerful and fortunate to root out this menacing (Shin) whom from the Dakhon"; but Sher Shah replied, "What you have said is most right and proper, but it has come into my mind . . . until I have cleansed the country from the existing contamination of the unbelievers (Hindus), I will not go into any other country. First I will root out that accursed infidel Maldeo. . . ." The chiefs and nobles assented, and so it was settled.¹ But Sher Shah's whole administration is a refutation of the explanation of religious bigotry against the Hindus, contained in this representation of him by our historians. The expedition against Maldeo was undoubtedly political: it was to give the Emperor a taste of his power, and to prevent any possibility of his harbouring the Maghat, as Maldeo had been inclined to do.

Instances may be multiplied to illustrate the other aspects of Sher Shah's character. His unique sense of justice, for instance, was a part of the man himself that determined the character of his administration. But this will be illustrated later. He was above all, and essentially, a man of destiny who had faith in himself and faith in God who seemed to have marked him out for the success he achieved. After the final discomfiture and dispersal of the enemy, he returned to the Imperial tent, dismounted in the hall of audience, and humbly prostrated himself in prayer to the Giver of all Victory, "He did not now hesitate to declare a dress which he had on the preceding night. He thought that he and Humayun were both carried into the presence of the Prophet of God, who was sitting in state on a throne, and who, addressing the Emperor, told him that the Almighty had bestowed his kingdom on Sher Shah, and, at the same time taking the crown and cup of authority from his head, placed them on that of his rival, commanding him to rule with justice."²

Godwin has been defined as a happy mixture of luck, authority,

and subtle capacity to take pains. However

(iv) Military
Godwin:

this may be, it is particularly true with regard to military achievement. Successful generalship,

as Humayun's failures had amply demonstrated, required more

¹ *Brihata* op. cit., II, p. 178.

other qualities besides personal courage. Above everything else it requires shared insight into human nature, understanding, and a clear grasp of the real as a very mundane matter. The uniform success of Sir John showed the presence in him of all these ingredients. By way of illustration, we might recall here a few instances.

(a) The constant manner in which he brought under control the rebellious *zamindars* on his father's estates was the first evidence he gave of his consummate ability to restore order to those troubled lands. "There were some *zamindars* who had committed all sorts of offences, such as theft and highway robbery, and refusing to pay revenue, never came to the governor's presence, but were resolute from confidence in their numbers. Although these were often warned, they took no heed. Field collected his forces, and commanded that every one of his villagers, who had a horse should come riding upon it, and that he who had not a horse should come on foot. And he took with him half his own soldiers, and the other half he employed in collecting revenue and other local duties.

"When the soldiers and peasants were assembled, he marched towards the villages of the *rebellants*, and at a distance of a few hours up an eastern entrenchment, and ordered them to cut down the neighbouring jungle. His horsemen he directed to patrol round the villages, to kill all men they met, and to make prisoners of the women and children, to drive in the cattle, to permit no one to cultivate the fields, to destroy crops already sown, and not to permit any one to bring anything from the neighbouring parts, nor to allow any one of them to carry anything out of the village, and not to permit a soul to go out. His footmen he also ordered to cut down the jungle. When the jungle was all cut down he marched from his former position, and made another entrenchment nearer the village, and occupied it. The rebels were humbled, and sent a representative saying, that if Field John would pardon their fault, they would submit. Field John replied that he would not accept their submission, and there could be nothing but hostility between him and them, to whichever God might please, He would give the victory.

"Although the rebels humbled themselves in every way, and offered to pay a large sum of money, yet Field John would not accept the money, but said to his men—"This is the way of these rebels, first they fight and oppose their ruler : if they find him

was, the young or their fellow-countrymen, but if they saw that he was strong they came to him respectfully, and humbled themselves, and agree to pay a sum of money: and so they persuade their ruler to leave them alone; but as soon as they find an opportunity, they return to their evil ways."

"When the other chiefs heard of the death, imprisonment, and ruin of these, they intended to warlike, repented of their conformity, and abstained from theft and robbery."

(ii) A second instance where Sher Shah showed his abilities as a general was when he fought the forces of Bengal. Doshida Khān, the Bengal general commanded vastly superior numbers and possessed, besides many elephants, a park of artillery. But, Sher Khān who was a better commander made up for all these by his skill and resourcefulness. After a few days' skirmishing, he called together his men and said—"I have for some time abstained from meeting the Bengalis in the open field, and have kept myself sheltered under entrenchments; but our men should be discouraged by the large numbers of the enemy. Now I am convinced that the Bengalis are much inferior to the Afghans in war. I will now engage in open battle, for without a general engagement we cannot destroy and disperse our enemies. Praise be to God, whenever such an engagement occurs between Afghans and Bengalis, the Afghans must prevail. It is impossible that the Bengalis can stand against them. At present this is my purpose. To-morrow morning, if you consent with me, hoping in the mercy of the protector, and on this term—"By God's command the lesser number overcome the greater," I will engage the enemy in open battle, for it behoves us not to delay or be backward in this matter, as reinforcements will soon reach them." The Afghans replied: "That which your noble mind has determined is extremely right."

The strategy by which he won the battle has already been described; it was similar to that employed by William the Conqueror in the battle of Senlac, and the result identical.

(iii) The manoeuvres by which Sher Shah outwitted the son of Humāyūn were masterpieces of military strategy. For details, the reader is referred to the descriptions of the battles of Chausa and Bilgram given elsewhere in this book. Although there was a uniformity in the tactics employed by Sher Shah on both the occasions, Humāyūn was too dull to profit by experience.

He! To economise in his men, and not to waste them in

unavoidable encounters was with Sher Shik'a a constant principle. The often led him to attack his men through means too open to moral censure. The acquisition of Cherie, Rabies, and Rabin are examples of treacherous conduct—though not infrequent in that Machiavellian age—which cast a deep shadow on Sher Shik'a other wise fair reputation. His use of the forged letters in the case of Malley is of a piece with the unscrupulous behavior, that some times passes in the name of political expediency. Nevertheless these actions seem to have separated chiefly from Sher Shik'a extreme reluctance to shed the blood of his own men needlessly. No wonder, therefore, that his men put their utmost trust in him. He inspired confidence in his soldiers by repeatedly telling them that 'the life goals are not together in the Alphas in battle or single combat; but the Alphas have let the Empire of Jihad slip from their hands on account of their internal dissensions.' His narrative triumphs must have convinced them that he was right. He made it appear to the Alphas that he was a paternal ruler, and those whom he could not otherwise induce, he compelled by anathemas. 'Many of them,' Abdo Khin says, 'who had accepted the garb of religious mendicants, on account of their misfortunes he relieved and enlisted as soldiers; and some who refused to enlist, and preferred a life of mendicancy, he put to death, and declared he would kill every Alpha who refused to be a soldier. He was very careful of the Alphas in action, that their lives might not be unduly sacrificed. When the Alphas heard that Sher Shik'a was nearly patrolling their rear, they entered into his service from all directions.'

Prof. Casagary writes: "He was one of the great humane conquerors. . . . In spite of his severity, no general was more beloved of his soldiers. His personal magnetism was great, which animated his soldiers and made them cheerfully perform their responsibilities. After a hard day's march the soldiers were not allowed to rest before throwing up redoubts round their encampment. They explicitly submitted to all hardships, not as the slaves of an Oriental Despot but as the comrades of an elected commander. . . . Originality and boldness of plan, rapidity of movement, and an eye for strategic situations characterized Sher Shik'a's campaigns. He was brave to unnecessary bloodshed and cruelty, and had no passion for fight. He had above all, a heart which soldiers and strategists often lack. He could feel for the misfortune of his enemy."

we are told that tears burst out of his eyes when the Mughal queen with a multitude of ladies came out of the camp and stood suppliant before him (after, Iskandari's defeat at Champa)."¹

Prof. Qureshi has described Sher Shah as "the greatest administrative and military genius among the

(C) *Administrative Ability* "Alphans."² A careful examination of the administrative system that he established within

his dominions, and its shading effects, in an otherwise chaotic age, would go to show that there is little exaggeration in the use of this superlative. Those who plead want of time in the case of Akbar will find in Sher Shah's administrative achievement a convincing refutation of their apology for Akbar's lack of administrative power. Akbar's observation that he introduced some of the many plans of Alau-d din Khilji of which he had heard "as they are detailed in the *Futuh-i-Bihar*," does want justice to Sher Shah's political originality.³ But more than any detail of civil or military organisation which he might have borrowed from earlier kings, the spirit that informed his marvellous regime scores the basis of his ordering force. Crook's estimate in this respect is therefore nearer the mark. "He was the first Muslim ruler," he says, "who studied the good of his people. He had the genius to see that the government must be popularised, that the king must govern for the benefit of his subjects, that the Hindus must be conciliated by a policy of justice and toleration, that the land revenue must be settled on an equitable basis, that material development of the country must be encouraged. All this and more Akbar strive to do later on."

Sher Shah relaxed the oppressive Mohammedan law code and provided for the administration of justice. That he introduced such extensive reforms in his short reign of five years is a wonderful proof of his executive ability. "No government, like even the British, has shown so much wisdom as this Pathan," as Kene says.⁴

1. Qureshi op. cit. pp. 401-04.

2. *Ibid.* Foreword p. vi. Also *Ind. Jaffar*, op. cit., pp. 56-58; and C. B. I, IV, pp. 55-57.

3. "Unlike his predecessors, Sher Shah gradually took up from below a solid structure of Government, whose base was continuous with the rest of his Empire."—Qureshi, op. cit., p. 255.

4. *Memoirs of the Ruler of the N. W. Frontier*, II, p. 10; cited by Qureshi.

For an elaborate treatment of Sher Shakh's administration, the reader is directed to Prof. Qasim's exhaustive study (*Sher Shakh*, chapter xii, pp. 346-405). Here we submit an abstract of the concluding portion of the *Tadhkirat-Sher Shakh* of Abdi Khān Sarakhs with textual observations, wherever necessary.—

When fortune gave into the hands of Sher Shakh the bridle of power by extracting them from the hands of the tyrant, he made reform laws, both from his own ideas and the longbow of Hadīd left under his dominion for securing relief from tyranny, and for the repression of crime and villainy: he maintained the prosperity of his subjects, the safety of the highways, and the abolition of guardposts and troops. "Crime and violence," he said, "prevent the development of prosperity." It behoves kings to be careful for the favour that the Lord has made His people subject to them, and, therefore, not to destroy the commandments of God.

Sher Shakh attended to every business concerning the administration of the kingdom and the revenues, which great or small, he dealt in his own person. So he divided both day and night into portions for each separate business and called no attention to find its way to him. "For," said he, "it is better the great to be always active, and they should not consider on account of the greatness of their own dignity and loftiness of their own rank, the affairs and business of the kingdom, small or petty, and must place no undue influence on their ministers. The corruption of ministers of contemporary princes was the means of my acquiring the worldly kingdom I possess. A king should not have corrupt nobles or slaves, for a nation of slaves is dependent on the grace of nobles; and one who is dependent is unfit for the office of noble, for he is an interested person; and to an interested person equity and truth in the administration of the kingdom are lost."

Sher Shakh was adorned with the jewel of justice, and he, who is always mentioned: "Justice is the most excellent of religious rules, and it is opposed only by the hope of selfishness and of the faithful."

When the young slaves of Sher Shakh's prosperity came into bearing he always mentioned the strict trials regarding the oppressed, and the future for justice, and he never favoured the oppressor, although they might be his near relatives, his dear ones, his renowned nobles or of his

1. Enkai gives the following anecdote to illustrate Sher Shakh's impartial administration of justice, irrespective of personalities.—

"One day he cited one Abdi Khān, riding on an elephant through the streets of Agha, in passing a house, the walls round which were in those days covered the side of a shop-keeper withered and fading. Struck with his beauty, he fixed his eyes upon her, threw her a look (pāsh) and passed on. The woman, being thus treated as a woman, feeling her

was taken¹ and he never showed any delay or lenity in punishing offenders. No appointed courts of justice in every place.²

He strictly imposed on the chiefs and governors, that if a theft or robbery occurred within their limits, and the perpetrators were not discovered, then they should arrest the magistrates of the surrounding villages, and compel them to make it good: but if the magistrates protected the offenders, or pointed out their haunts, the thieves and highway robbers themselves were punished with the penalties laid down in the holy law. And if murders should occur, and the murderers were not discovered, the chiefs were required to seize the magistrates, as detailed above, and imprison them and give them a period within which to declare the murderers. If they produced the murderer, or pointed out where he lived they were to let the magistrates go, and put the murderer to death: but if the magistrates of a village where the murder had occurred could not do this they were themselves put to death: for it has been generally ascertained that theft and highway robbery can only take place by the connivance of these functionaries. If a magistrates harbours thieves and robbers unknown to the governor, it is fit he should be punished, or even be put to death, that it may be a warning to others to abstain from similar acts.

¹ The rules for the collection of revenue from the people and for the prosperity of the kingdom, were after this manner:-

Collection of No.

There was in every village, one ox, one
 God-fearing cattle, one treasurer, one double to write

honour wounded resolved not to survive the affront. Her husband, when informed of the incident, had great difficulty in preventing her suicide. He went straight to the house of Sher Shik, and among other suits, presented his complaint. The King, having investigated the circumstances, pronounced judgment ordering the law of retaliation to be collected: and that the shopkeeper, mounted on an elephant, should in his turn throw Hail to the prince's wife when undressed and preparing for the bath. Great influence was exerted to satisfy the King but to no avail. Such he, says, was the law of that religion, and, as administering justice, he knew no difference between prince and peasant: that it should not be said that a man because his son, could enjoy a subject whom he was bound to protect. The king, in delight, withdrew his complaint, saying that now that he had gained his right, his character was restored and he was satisfied; and at his entreaty the matter was ended.³—*Eastern, op. cit.*, II, pp. 464-65.

1. See II. & D, op. cit., IV, pp. 425-26.

2. Criminal justice was administered by the Chief Magistrate and various disputes settled by the Chief Munsif. No business falls on, says Ganga, anything about the appointment of the mir-i-ahad or the ghia for trying civil cases requiring the knowledge of Muslim jurisprudence. In an anecdote of the Tarikh-i-Munawwar (1815, p. 204) we find the only allusion to mir-i-ahad and ghia. This was undoubtedly a continuation of an old institution developed by Bahadur Ghosia Lodhi.—*Sher Shah*, p. 158.

Hands, and one or more *Parsons*—and he ordered his *gation* to deliver the land every harvest, to apportion the revenue according to the various *plots*, and in *proportion* to the produce, giving one share to the cultivator, and half share to the *magistrate*.¹ And being the agreement with regard to the land of grain, *or* *or* *or* the *magistrates* and the *choudhars*, and *land* should not oppress the cultivators, who are the support of the prosperity of the kingdom.

Before his time it was not the custom to measure the land, but there was a *gation* for every purpose from whom was ascertained the present, past, and possible future state of the *regions*.²

1. The *regions* was the administrative unit—the smallest that he could find without denaturing the autonomous village communities. (The use of this term is a bit confusing; it has been used in *Abdus Khaliq's* narrative, as we have seen, to signify a district. At other places, it is also used for a village.)

Asht *gats* and *land*—are all used for the same official. He was a civil officer whose duties were the assessment and collection of revenue and to act as an umpire between the State and the individual.

The *gats* was a soldier, and military or police officer. He was to execute *orders*, to assist the *gats* in revenue collection, if necessary and to maintain the King's peace generally.

For fuller details see *ibid.*, pp. 202-22.

2. The earlier Muslim rulers of Delhi considered themselves as proprietors of the soil, and as such entitled to the whole produce of the land, leaving only just enough for the maintenance of the peasant. There was no *share* of the State demand; the revenue was generally assessed on the gross by *grain* or *compensation*. After the Khans had deducted the *share* of *land* (sowing and sowing). He demanded 'half of the produce of the land without any deduction' (*E. & D.* op. cit. II, p. 221). The houses of the Muslim rulers and the sections of the *Khans' magistrates* were the home of the peasants. The *landholders* and the *magistrates* wielded almost absolute political authority over their *regions*.

Under Sher Shah, *land* was surveyed under an uniform system of measurement. He ordered the use of the *gaz*-*Standard* (II *gaz*). The land was measured by *gaz*,—for which *land* an *Asht* subdivided the *land*,—and *Asht*. The *gats* *Asht* and *land* were interchangeable; our *land* or *Asht* consisted of 2400 *sq. gaz*. (*ibid.*, II, p. 22). The holding of every *gats* was separately measured and 1/4 of the expected produce was assessed as the government revenue. As the custom under previous rulers, the cultivator was given the choice of payment either in kind or cash, preference being given to the latter. A *landholder* or agreement, containing a short account of the *gats's* holding, and the amount to be paid by *gats* to Government, was taken by the *gats* from every individual *landholder* (only signed and attested); and he gave in return a *gats* or *land*—to the *gats*, with a record of the State demand.

confidery so that no one should doubt the kingdom undefended and therefore attempt to conquer it, was to follow—

'Shar Shih always kept 100,000 horse, and 25,000 footmen, always armed with match-locks or bows, prepared with iron, and on their report from took over seven miles from them. There were also 500 elephants in his depots—¹ and at every place where it served his interests he kept garrisons: e.g. in the fort of Gushu he kept a force to which were attached 1,000 match-lock men. In Buzon he kept a division besides a garrison of 500 match-locks in Bantashan another division beside 1,600 match-lock men in the fort of Chiao, 1,000 match-lock men in the fort of Shadnabad or Minch was stationed Sags at Kilia with 18,000 horse and 7000 match-locks. He had his sights in Hinde and Mithan. In the fort of Buzon a force was stationed together with 1,000 artillery men; and in the fort of Chashu, another force also with 1,000 match-lock men; and in the fort of Kucha, near Bhoi, he kept 15,000 Kilia Fams, with 18,000 match-lock men. And Shar Shih kept thousands without number of soldiers in that fort... (Similarly, at Nagai, Jodigir, Agner, Lachure, Kipli, etc.). The kingdom of Bengal he divided into parts, and made Kili Fakhir Amir of that whole kingdom.

Prof. Qasim charges that to Sultan Ali-ud-din Kili-ud-din belongs the credit of organising the Indian empire on a new model. He created an army recruited directly by the central government, paid in cash from the State treasury, officered by soldiers of the Sultan's own choice, with corruption was checked by the *shah* (bribe) system. The structure of the Lodhi was of the classical feudal type, consisting of the grant of various *shahi* lands enjoying rights for service. Shar Shih revised the system of Ali-ud-din Kili-ud-din and transformed the army into a truly Imperial institution. The Sultan obeyed his immediate commanding officer, not as he personified that, but as the Emperor's servant. The Emperor combined in himself the functions of the Commander-in-Chief and the *Pratyapant*—². In order to take away from the military *shahis* of the administration, Shar Shih took care that in normal times of peace, the military should remain in the background, only in the support of the civil authority.³

'Among the rules which Shar Shih promulgated, in the handling of horses. And he said he ordered it on this account, that the rights of the chiefs and soldiers might be distinct, and that the chiefs might not be able to defend the soldiers of their states, and that every one should maintain soldiers according to his rank (mansab) and not vary his numbers. "For" said he, "in the time of Sultan Bahlam, and afterwards, I observed that many base nobles were guilty of fraud and falsehood, who at the time their military salary was assigned to them, had a number of soldiers but when they had got possession of their states, they diminished the greater number of their

1. Qasim, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-62.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 262.

men without payment, and only kept a few men for indispensable duties and did not even pay them as full. Also did they regard the injury to their masters' interests, at the magnitude of their own conduct; and when their lord ordered a review or assembly of their forces, they brought strange men and horses, and mounted them, but the money they put into their own purses. In time of war they would be defeated from priority of numbers; but they kept the money, and when their master's officers became critical and discontented, they, equipping themselves with this very money took private discipline; so, from the side of their master's fortress, they sallied on him. When I had the good fortune to gain power, I was as my word against the death and imprisonment of both soldiers' great chiefs, and ordered the horses to be harnessed, in order to block up the road against these rascals and brutes, so that the chiefs could not entrance strangers to fill up their ranks. After Shih's custom was that that he would not pay their salary unless the horses were harnessed, and he turned it to such an extent that he would not give anything to the messengers and messes servants about the palace without a horse, and they made out descriptive rolls of the men and horses and brought them before him, and he himself compared the rolls when he fixed the monthly salaries and then he had the horses harnessed to his power.

For the convenience of travelling of poor travellers on every road at a distance of two li, he made a station; and one road with seven he made from the first which he built to the Purple, to the city of Burlington, which is situated in the kingdom of Shensi, on the shore of the ocean. Another road he made from the city of Agra to Indigah and Chien, and one road with seven from the city of Lihoo to Maikin. Altogether he built 1,700 miles of various roads; and in every case he built separate lodgings, both for Minda and for Moshmann, and at the gate of every case he placed pots full of water, that anyone might drink, and in every case he settled bellmen for the entertainment of Minda, to provide her and cold water, and hay and feed, and grass for all their horses; and it was a rule in those areas that whoever entered them received provisions suitable to his rank and food and labor for his cattle from Government.

Villages were established all round the roads. In the middle of every case was a wall and a mound of burnt brick, and he placed an officer and a warrior in every watch, together with a custodian (chakew), and several watchmen; and all these were maintained from the land near the river.

"On both sides of the highway Shih Shih planted fruit-bearing trees, such as also grew much shade, that in the hot wind travellers might go along under the trees and if they should stop by the way, might rest and take repose. If they put up at a case, they found their horses under the trees."

1. "These roads and walls," declares Qingshi, "were as it were the arteries of the Empire. They were halting stations for the constantly moving officials, some of them developed into centres of busy market-

At every *amral* were placed two *hissas* for the news-reporters, so

that there were 2,400 horses, in all the *amral* together. Spies and *his* always ready to bring intelligence every day from *amral* to *amral*. For the enforcement of the *amral* laws, which he had established for the protection of the people. *Shir Shah* was treated again with every kind of his soldiers, so that they, acquiring and secretly witnessing all circumstances relating to the soldiers, their soldiers, and the people, they might relate them to him, for the civilian and soldiers, for purposes of their own do not report to the King the whole state of the kingdom, but any disorder or delinquency which may have found its way into the courts of justice should be corrected.

"In the days of *Shir Shah* and of *Islam Shah*, the magistrates used to protect the limits of their own villages but, say

Magistrates and their or robber or enemy might arrive in travelling, and so be the means of his destruction and death.

And he directed his governors and lords to compel the people to treat one another and themselves well in every way, and not injure them at all, and if a merchant should die by the way, not to search out the hand of oppression and violence on his goods as if they were unsecured." For *Shah* "Allah (may God be merciful to him) has said: "If a merchant should die in your country, it is *perfidy* to lay hands on his property."

Throughout his whole kingdom *Shir Shah* levied customs on merchandise only in two places, viz., when it came from Bengal, customs were levied at Ghazni (*Shir* gah), and when it came from the direction of Khairabad, the customs were levied on the borders of the kingdom, and again a second duty was levied at the place of sale. His rule served to levy other customs, either on his road or on the horses, in towns or villages. *Shir Shah*, moreover, forbade his officials to purchase anything in the *Amral* except at the usual trade rates and prices.

"One of the regulations *Shir Shah* made was this: That his victorious standards should cause no injury to the cultivation

Protection of Cultivators; of the people and when he marched he generally marched into the seats of the cultivation, and stationed his men to prevent people from trespassing in another's field.

If he saw any man injuring a field, he would cut off his ears with his own hand, when the peasants could probably sell their agricultural produce and get in return little commodities of value."

"The means of *Shir Shah* were also the means of *Shir Shah*. He kept his finger on the pulse of the Kingdom by means of this institution. This was the origin of the news Department under the *Darogah* *Shah* (the *Shah* appointed by the *Magistrate*). It was that institution by which the *Shah* (the *Shah*) received reports of crimes and other matters in the progress of his dominion reached his every day."—(Ibid. pp. 201-202.)

"The *Shah* Shah's reconstruction of the tariff system revived the dwelling economy of Northern India."—(Ibid., p. 202.)

interest in the planning of his last resting place, that unconsciously he fixed it the impress of his own character; the builders formed it after his own image ... "1

"If my life lasts long enough," said Sher Shah, "I will build a fort on every neck, on a mountain top, which may in times of trouble become a refuge for the oppressed and a check to the conqueror; and I am making all the northern-most corner of India that they may also serve for the protection and safety of the highway." So he built the fort of Jodhpur, on the road to Khichda to hold in check Khichda and the country of the Gakhars, about 60 km. from Lahore, and fortified and strengthened it accordingly. There was never seen a place so fortified, and numerous mans were expended upon the work. He called that fort, *Shah Jodhpur*.

"The former capital city of Delhi was at a distance from the Jamna and Sher Shah destroyed and rebuilt it, by the bank of the Jamna, and ordered two forts to be built on the city, with the strength of a mountain, and lofty in height, the smaller fort for the governor's residence, the other, the wall round the entire city, to protect it, and in the gateway fort he built a great wall of stone, in the ornamenting of which much gold, lapis lazuli and other precious articles were expended. But the fortifications round the city were not completed when Sher Shah died.

"He destroyed also the old city of Kanauj, the former capital of the kings of Delhi, and built a fort of burnt brick there, and on the spot where he had gained his victory, he built a city, and called it *Shah Sur*. I can find no satisfactory reason for the destruction of the old city, and the city was never repopulated," writes Abul Fazl.

"From the day that Sher Shah was established on the throne, no man dared to breathe an opposition to him; nor did any one raise the standard of conspiracy or rebellion against him; nor was any hear-foretelling there produced in the garden of his Empire, nor was there any of his soldiers or soldiers, or a thief or a robber, who dared to divert the eye of dominancy to the property of another; nor did any theft or robbery even come within his dominions. Travellers and vagabonds during the time of Sher Shah's reign were released from the trouble of keeping watch; nor did they fear to halt even in the midst of a desert; and the ambassadors for fear but any mischief should come to the travellers and that they should suffer, so he arrested on account of it, kept watch over them. And in the time of Sher Shah's rule, a decrepit old woman might place a basketful of gold ornaments on her head and go on a journey, and no thief or robber would touch near her, for fear of the punishment which Sher Shah inflicted. Such a shadow spread over the world, that a decrepit person feared not a thief nor. During his time all quarrelling, disputing, fighting and tumbling which is the custom of the Afghans, was altogether ceased and put a stop to, throughout the countries of Roh and of Khichda. Sher Shah,

1. *History of Afghan Rule in India*, p. 444.

in his wisdom and experience, was a second Haider. In a very short period, he gained the dominion of the country, and provided for the safety of the highways, the administration of the Government, and the happiness of the soldiers and people. God is a dispenser of righteousness."

So closes Abbas Khan Sherada's account of Shar Shah. It is well to close our study of the great Afghan with a few modern estimates of him.

SOME MODERN ESTIMATES

"Shar Shah showed brilliant capacity as an organizer, both in military and civil affairs. He died of malarial

E. B. Havell. public industry and personal attention to the smallest details of administration, he restored law and order throughout Hindustan in the short space of five years. And no doubt the long-suffering, law-abiding ryot was grateful to the iron-handed Afghan for an interval of comparative peace, and for protection against indiscriminate plunder, though he might sometimes sigh for the golden days when even Shikhs were Ahrar free men, and the laws of the village Assemblies were respected even by the King of kings and Supreme Lord of the Free Indies" (*Afghan Rule in India*, pp. 441-42.)

"He rose to the throne by his own talents, and showed himself worthy of the high elevation which he attained.

William Erskine. In intelligence, in sound sense and experience, in his civil and financial arrangements, and in military skill, he is acknowledged to have been by far the most eminent of his nation, who ever ruled in India. . . . Shar Shah had more of the spirit of the legislator and guardian of his people than any prince before Akbar."—(*History of India*, pp. 441, 442.)

"Shar Shah appears to have been a prince of consummate prudence and ability. His ambition was always too

Mountstuart Elphinstone. strong for his principles. . . . but towards his subjects, his measures were as benevolent as their intention as wise in their conduct. Notwithstanding his short reign, and constant activity in the field, he brought his territories into the highest order, and he introduced many improvements in his civil government." (*Far History of India*, p. 352.)

"His brief career was devoted to the establishment of the unity which he had long ago perceived to be the great

H. G. Keane. ~~element~~ of his Ministry. Though a devoted Muslim,

he never oppressed his Hindu subjects. His progress was the cause of good to his people instead of being—as is too often the case in India—the cause of devastation. It is a welcome task to take note of such things as a break in the long series of rapine and slaughter, and we can do so without hesitation; for the acts of Sher Shah are attested by his enemies, writing when he was dead, and when his dynasty had passed away for ever. (*History of India*, I, pp. 364, Rev. ed.)

"Sher Shah was something more than the capable leader of a horde of ferocious Afghans. He had a keen taste in architecture, manifested especially in the noble mausoleum at Sasaram (Sehaurah) in Bihar which he prepared for himself. He also displayed an aptitude for civil government and initiated reforms, which were based to some extent on the institutions of Akbar-ula Khaji and were developed by Akbar. He reformed the coinage, raising its standard of silver money, excellent as both fitness and execution. That is a good record for a stormy reign of five years. If Sher Shah had been spared he would have established his dynasty, and the 'Great Moghuls' would not have appeared on the stage of history." (*The Oxford History of India*, pp. 327-28.)

"For men have crowded more into the short space of five years than this able and accomplished man." (*H. L. G. Cochrane* and *Garrett, Mughal Rule in India*, p. 18.)

"In spite of the debilitation which hampered a sixteenth century king in India, he brought to bear upon his task the intelligence, the ability, the devotion of the enlightened despots of the eighteenth century in Europe." (*A Short History of Modern India*, p. 334.)

"The accession of Sher Shah marked the beginning of that era of blood which lasted till the accession of Aurangzeb's reign. . . . Sher Shah may justly regard as the first who attempted to build up an Indian nation. The work of Sher Shah's administrative genius did not perish with his dynasty, but lasted throughout the Mughal period with some inevitable changes due to the greater expansion of the empire. It forms the substratum of our present administrative system. The modern magistracy and

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collector of British India is the official successor of the *Sikandar-shahpasha* of Sher Shah, and the reliability that of the *Amal* or *Amil*.

The revenue and currency systems which prevailed in India with very little modification down to the middle of the XIX century were not the achievements of Akbar but of Sher Shah.¹ (Sher Shah, pp. 413-460, 560, 547.)²

Sher Shah's reign constituted an important test point in the annals of Indian coinage not only its specific coin systems, but also in correcting the discrepancies denominated of the previous reigns, and in introducing these many reforms which the succeeding Mughals claimed as their own.³—(Thomas, *Chronicles of the Feroz Shahi*, p. 403.)

"Sher Shah is entitled to the honour of establishing the reformed system of currency which lasted throughout the Mughal period, was maintained by the East India Company down to 1858, and is the basis of the existing British currency. He finally abolished the un-represented Indian coinage of stamped metal, and struck well-associated pieces in gold, silver, and copper, to a fixed standard of both weight and fineness. His silver rupees, which weigh 180 grains, and contain 175 grains of pure silver, being thus practically equal in value to the modern rupee, often have the king's name in *Sikandar* character in addition to the usual *Akbari* inscription."⁴—(V. A. Smith, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, II, pp. 145-6.)

"His coins also illustrate the rapidity with which he conquered the countries settled under his rule. The land survey, construction of roads, and establishment of mint towns seem to follow almost in the wake of his conquering armies."⁵—(Quarup, *Sher Shah*, p. 155.)

III. SHER SHAH'S SUCCESSORS

The genealogy at the commencement of this chapter gives the names and order of successors of the principal *Imamshahs* (successors of Sher Shah) but, apart from the first, namely Salim or Iqbal Shah, hardly any interest attaches to the rest. For they were mere rivals fighting over the already broken bits of Sher Shah's kingdom. They have little bearing on the history of the Mughal Empire except in revealing in detail the nature of the situation that enabled Humayun to recover his lost patrimony. Few test-

¹ Cf. W. H. Storr, *The Administrative System of Sher Shah*, I. H. O., K. I. 4 (1908).

books dealing with the period mention even their names. But the Sir-i-Jahangir-nāma, although a mere episode in the history of the Mughals in India, still has a value for us as containing in a nutshell, as it were, the same lesson that is more elaborately illustrated by our principal theme. As Kerne wrote, 'It is the misfortune of absolute monarchy that the best rulers can never remain a worthy successor.' Sher Shah's sovereignty was assumed by persons who were blessing under the usual trials of persons born for power which they had done nothing to acquire. Sher Shah himself, as we have seen, more than once attributed the loss of Afghan dominion to their dissensions. When the strong hand restraining them was removed, the old antagonisms of the Afghan nobility sprang up again. The whole period of Salim's reign was consumed in intrigues and fruitless quarrels, and on his death, in November 1584, his son was murdered and a scene of confusion ensued. "The native Muslims felt into such a state of quarrelsome volatility that the chief command fell into the hands of a Hindu chandler named Hosi."¹

(A) SALIM SHAH AND FERÖZ SHAH

Abdulla, author of *Tarikh-i-Ghalib*, writes. — 'It is related in the *Atish-e-Jahid*, that when Sher Shah ordered up

1. Salim Shah. His bid to the angel of death in Kishangar, the natives perceived that an Adil Khan (Sher Shah's eldest son) would be unable to arrive with speed (from Rastanapur),

and as the State required a head, they despatched a person to summon Jallu Khan who was nearer (in the town of Baman, in the province of Shah). He reached Kishangar in five days, and by the assistance of Jai Hajib and other grandees was raised to the throne near the fort of Kishangar, on the 15th of the month *Rabi-ul-awwal*, 982, A. H. (15th May, 1584 A. D.). He assumed the title of Jallu Shah, and this name was engraved on his seal.

"The world, through the favour of the Almighty, has been rendered happy."

Since Jallu Shah, the son of Sher Shah Shah, has become king.²

1. Kerne, op. cit., I, p. 98.

2. His seat at Delhi is still called *Jalimpur*, but on his name he is Jallu Shah. Ferishta writes "Jallu Khan... succeeded the throne... taking the title of Adil Shah, which by false pronunciation is called Jallu Shah, by which name he is more generally known"—Driggs, II, pp. 120-22, R. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 474-75, n. 1.

'After ascending the throne,' continues Abdulla, 'and inquiring concerning the conduct of Shar Shih, he left some as they went, and charged others to suit his own ideas.' He was an imperator like his father, observes, Khushroo, "but rather in public works than in love." Other writers look upon his regulations as "wily and consummate, directed chiefly with the object of restricting his father's policy, and establishing a name for himself as a legitimate Islam Shih was desirous of showing the world that he also had "his own thunder"'. But a statement of these edicts and enactments will speak for itself. Badi'ul, whose account is given below, says, "These rules were in force till the end of the reign of Salim Shih, and the compiler of this history (Tahsil-e-Badi'ul) witnessed the same slave described, when he was of tender age, that is, in the year 625 A. H., when he accompanied his maternal grandfather (my God extend His grace to him!) to the camp of Farid Khan, commander of 5,000 horse which was then pitched in the district of Rajpore, a dependency of Rajpore."

'Salim Shih in the beginning of his reign issued orders that as the armies of Shar Shih were two miles distant from one another, one of Hoshier from

Salim Shih's
Hoshier's

should be built between them for the convenience

of the public, and that a mosque and a reservoir should be attached to them, and that vessels of water and of victuals, cooked and uncooked, should be always kept in readiness for the entertainment of Hindû, as well as Mohammedan travellers. In one of his orders he directed that all the madaf-e-ushah and other tents in Hindûstan which Shar Shih had granted, and all the seras which he had built and the gardens he had laid out, should not be alienated, and that no change should be made in their limits.

'He took away from the ladies all the dancing-girls maintained in their courts, according to the common practice of India. He also took from them all their elephants, and let none of them retain more than a sorry female, adapted only for carrying baggage. It was enacted that red tents should be the exclusive use of the sovereign. He returned and placed under immediate management of the State,

1. Khushroo, op. cit., p. 468.

2. F. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 480 n. 3. According to Sir Wajid Ali Khan, Islam Shih had all the tents of the Afghans, from which Shar Shih was free. See C. H. I., IV, p. 48.

the fees enjoyed by the troops, and established pecuniary payments, in fact, according to the rates fixed by Sher Shah.

'Circular orders were issued through the proper channels to every district, touching on matters religious, political and fiscal in all their most minute bearings, and containing rules and regulations, which concerned not only the army, but cultivators, merchants and persons of other professions, and which were to serve as guides to the officials of the State, whether they were in accordance with the *Mahomedan law* or not, a measure which revealed the necessity of entering any of these matters to *Kabir* and *Muhammad*.

'In order that these circular instructions might be fully comprehended, the soldiers in command of 5, 10, or 20 thousand horse were ordered to assemble every Friday as a large tent, under which was placed, on an elevated chair, a pair of Sultan Shah's slippers, and a quiver full of arrows. Then they bowed down before the chair, one by one, according to their respective ranks, first of all the officer in command of the troops and then the *muzawir*, or *sewa*, and so on, after which with due respect and obedience they took their respective seats, while a secretary coming forward read to them the whole of the circular instructions above referred to, which filled about 20 sheets of paper. Every chief took then as soon as the provision was dictated something to its purport. If any of the nobles committed an act in contravention of these orders, it was reported to the King who forthwith passed orders directing proper punishment to be inflicted on the offender, as well as on his family.'

The real character of Sultan Shah's administration is perhaps best represented by the author of the *Tārīkh-i*

Character of Sher Shah. 'Ibrahim Shah,' writes Abdulla, 'resembled his father in his pomp and splendour, and in his desire for dominion and conquest. He possessed great power, ability and good fortune, and he had an immense number of horses and elephants, and a numerous artillery, together with a multitude of horse and foot soldiers beyond all calculation. On the day of his accession to the throne, he ordered two months' pay to be distributed as ready money to the army; one month of this he gave them as a present; the other as subsistence money.' Moreover, he

2. R. & H., op. cit., V, pp. 484-5.

3. This was more than counterbalanced by long arrears of pay later on; e.g. see ibid., p. 485.

received all the junks in the provinces of his government, and allowed their holders a stipend in money from his treasury issued. To those who had received stipends during the reign of Shih Shih he gave lands and pardon. During the time of Shih Shih, a place had always been established in the royal camp for the distribution of alms to the poor. Instead of this, Hsien Shih directed that arrangements for the giving of alms should be made at each of the courts and that indigent travellers should be supplied with whatever they needed, and that everyone should receive a daily gratuity, in order that they might be contented and at peace. He had, while Prince, 4,000 horses with him, and he now presented all of them. He made private officers, and officers nobles. These regulations of Hsien Shih caused those of Shih Shih to fall into disrepute. Many of Shih Shih's principal nobles were disgraced at what they regarded as acts tending to dishonour them, and became ill-disposed towards Hsien Shih. He, in his turn, was likewise suspicious of these great doers, and thus the relations which existed between the great chiefs and the King were changed in their nature.¹

Hsien Shih was a monarch of treacherous and confused disposition.

When he secured power in his own hands, he dis-
 regarded loyalty to his elder brother, "Add Shih,
 who had been nominated Shih Shih's heir-apparent.

"But as I was near and you were distant," he wrote to "Add Shih,
 "to prevent disorder in the State, I have taken charge of the army until
 your arrival. I have nothing to do but obey, you, and attend to your
 orders." (How like Amangala later on!) His real object was to get
 rid of his brother during the perfidious interval for which he soon
 missed him.

Add Shih proceeded to meet his brother after being doubly assured
 as to his safety. Hsien Shih, assuming treachery towards his brother,
 had given directions that only two or three persons were to be allowed to
 near the fort with Add Shih. When they arrived in the gate of the fort,
 at night, Hsien Shih's men forbade their entry, so that Add Shih's people
 paid no attention, and a great number of them went in with "Add Shih."
 Amangala Vilayur says, five or six thousand of "Add Shih's men, armed
 with swords forced their way into the fort, in defiance of all attempts to
 exclude them."

Add Shih was a man who loved ease and comfort. He was aware
 of the deceit and cunning of Hsien Shih, so he preferred to remain in the
 city of Beylun which was assigned to him. Even there he was not

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 474-482.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 481-482.

allowed to be at peace. Iltutmish made an attempt to win his people. "The latter, however, were Fergana, having timely information of his design, fled to Ghazni, where Khwarizm Khan then resided and accompanied that chief with him in his army, of his brother's business. Khwarizm Khan, whose temper was conciliatory, treated with indulgence, saved Ghaz Malichy (Iltutmish's agent), and went into open rebellion. Khwarizm Khan's character was so high, that by willing horses to the nobles of the army, he gained many partisans, and accompanied by the prince 'Adil Khan, he marched towards Agra . . . (But) although his troops behaved with great bravery, he was overthrown by Salim Shah. After the action, the prince 'Adil Khan fled, in the first instance, to Patna, but, soon after disappearing, was never again heard of; the strongest efforts were obliged to be used among the Kanauj hills, but only for a time."

After these events, Iltutmish became masterful of all his nobles, and took measures to overthrow them. He got some of them in prison, and deprived others of all their possessions. He also placed his own nephew, Mahmud Khan, the son of 'Adil Khan under surveillance, and seized, first Khat Khan Niz, then Burhanud Din, Jafar Khan Niz, and Zain Khan Niz. He also Jafar Khan Niz, as well as his brother, by binding them to the feet of an elephant, after which he caused the elephant to be placed on the elephant, and paraded through the camp. The hearts of the nobles of Iltutmish were filled with terror and consideration. After this he put many whom to death, amongst whom was Khwaja Khan, who bore the title of Mahmud Ali, who was regarded as some brotherly person. He continued for a long time to distress the whole of his subjects, and to make God's servants miserable; but towards the end of his reign he behaved towards the people with liberality and generosity.¹

What has been said should suffice to illustrate the character of Salim Shah's reign. There were other rebellions and disturbances, principally of the Nizams under Anwar Humayun, and the Gakhars under Sultan Adnan Gakhari (who delivered Khwarizm into the hands of Humayun). To the last, Salim Shah was engaged in reducing these disorders. In the course of these troubled years, more than one attempt was made on his life. "Certain nobles desired to place Mahalik Khan, (who possessed the title of Adil) on the throne."² As the rebellious Nizams declared: "We are obtaining a kingdom by inheritance, it belongs to a father and goes to his sons."³ "Iltutmish was

1. Briggs, II, pp. 125-31.

2. E. & O. op. cit., IV, p. 485.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 486.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 487.

informed of the treason of these people, and immediately endeavoured to assemble them in one place, and there punish them. The chiefs being warned of his intention, met together, and entered into an agreement not to present themselves at the court all at once, but to go one by one. Isiah Shih was day and night thinking and planning how he might best put them to death. But the decrees of Providence do not change to suit human wishes and counsels, and he was suddenly taken ill and confined to bed at the foot of Gwilio (which had been long his favourite residence) He summoned (his wife) Fiké Shih, and said, "I have the reins still in my hands and have as yet lost nothing. If you desire your son to reign after me, tell me to do so, and I will cause your brother Makhin Kihia to be removed." On this Fiké Shih began to weep. Isiah Shih said, "You know best!" And then suddenly as he was speaking he gave up the ghost in the twinkling of an eye, and departed to the next world in the year 981 A. H. (November, 1564). Many of the troops who were not aware of the King's illness, on receiving the unexpected intelligence of his decease, were much perturbed and distressed, as it threw their affairs into confusion. His body was taken from Gwilio, and deposited at Sasekian, near that of his father.¹

Paradin narrates the sequel thus.—Salleh Shih's son succeeded

by his son, the Prince Fiké, then twelve years of age, who was placed on the throne by the chiefs of the tribe of Sile at Gwilio. He had not reigned three days, when Makhin Kihia, the son of Nihon Kihia Shih (Sier Shih's brother—see Genealogy), at once the nephew of the late Sier Shih, and brother-in-law of Salleh Shih, assassinated the young Prince, and ascending the throne, assumed the title of Mahmud Shih Adil On the third day after the death of Salleh Shih, Makhin Kihia, having entered the female apartments, slew with his own hand the unhappy Prince, whom he dragged from the arms of his mother, Fiké Shih, his own sister.² When her husband had always insisted upon getting rid of her brother Makhin Kihia being too dangerous for the Prince, she had always replied, "My brother is too fond of dissipation and pleasure to encumber himself with the load of anxiety which belongs to a King."³ But the decrees of Providence do not change to suit human wishes and counsels!

¹ Ibid., pp. 504-5.

² Supp. II, no. 541-42.

Among the books that caused disturbance in the town of Bidar (Bijapur district, Mysore and Coimbatore) is a

The **Kitab** which caused so a popular religious movement led by **Shah Wali** in southern as well as the religious aspects of the region of the first two parts will be recalled with interest when we consider the subject of Allah's religious reforms. Lastly, the most extraordinary events of this reign, says Fawcett, 'is the movement produced by **Shah Wali**. The story of it follows:—'

'The father of **Shah Wali** was **Shah Hasan** who professed himself to be a holy man in the town of Bidar; but he adopted opposite views to those of **Shah Wali** of Bidar. **Shah Hasan** during was engaged in his other work, **Shah Wali** a person so remarkable for his abilities as for his learning. He studied the Arabic or Malabar dialects of Bidar, Muhammad, Jaufi, and with a considerable number of scholars; then during all worldly pursuits, gave himself up wholly to devotion, under the firm conviction of predestination. He preached daily with much power, eloquence, that many persons, listening devoted to his words, would not quit him, and abandoning their families became converts to his doctrine, and ranged themselves among the disciples of **Shah Muhammad Jaufi**, the founder of the sect; so that in some instances, men employed in agriculture or trade made them to devote themselves to their wealth in charity and to religious purposes. Several instances happened when fathers abandoned their children, sons their fathers, husbands their wives and wives their husbands, and devoted themselves to worship and retirement from the world. It being a principle among the sect to divide no labour among their brethren all they possessed or received in charity—in case where the members of the sect got nothing for two or three days (they have been known to fast, regarding themselves unworthy to their food sufficient supplies. It was their practice to go armed, and in every instance where they saw any person doing what they considered contrary to the holy law, they waited how to slay him; but if he persisted they professed to attack and put him or them to death. Many of the magistrates, themselves being Malabar, assisted at these proceedings; and those who even did not assist, were afraid to check and to punish them.'

When **Shah Wali** went to Kharagpur which is in the Jodhpur territory, **Shah Wali** came to meet him, and joined him. When **Shah Wali** heard of their events, he summoned him (Wali) to his presence. The **Shah Wali** perceived that the King was attended by a select party of his nobles; nevertheless, he did not depart as it is becoming to do in the presence of royalty. He merely made the necessary salutation, at which the King was delighted. The nobles were very much at this manner. **Shah Wali** (Wali) who was entitled **Mahmud-i-Mulk**, opposed the doctrine of **Shah Wali**, and desired that he should be imprisoned. **Shah Wali** assembled a great number of the learned and directed them

in dispute was the matter. Sheikh Ali's great eloquence enabled him to convince all his opponents in argument. Imam Shih said, "O Sheikh, beside the mode of procedure in order that I may appoint you (immediately) Governor of Hindia of all my dominions. Up to the present time, you have taken upon yourself to fulfil without my authority, henceforth you will do so with my consent." Sheikh Ali would not agree to this. When he was sent to Hindia, Shih's Khin Sarhad joined him with all his troops. Imam Shih again summoned the Sheikh from Hindia, and this time ordered a larger assembly of Mullas than the former to meet and investigate his doctrine. "Madrakand Mullas said, "This man desires to rule the country, he wishes to attain the rank of Afshar, and the Afshar is to rule the whole world. The entire army of His Majesty has taken part with him, it is very likely that in a short time the country will be much injured." Imam Shih, by the second time, sent Sheikh Ali once before. There Sheikh Ali fell ill. When they brought him before Imam Shih he was too weak to speak. Imam Shih whispered to his son, and advised him to declare that he was not the Afshar, in order that he might be pardoned, but Sheikh Ali would not listen to what the King said. His Majesty, losing all hopes of persuading him, ordered him to be strangled and he rendered up his soul to the angel of death at the third hour, on the year 950 A.H. (1546 A.D.). It is commonly reported that Sheikh Ali repeated a stanza in the presence of Imam Shih, and said, "If you desire to comprehend my doctrine, let these aphorisms, manifest on the face of Sheikh Ashraf's son Karamat:

"I have one soul and a thousand bodies,
 But both soul and bodies being united to me,
 It is strange I have made myself useless!"

"The doctrine of the expected Afshar, is based on various alleged prophecies of the Prophet regarding the advent of a messiah, or saviour of the faith. The movement seems to have had its origin in Badakhshan, beyond Afghanistan, and to have spread from there over Persia and India. The doctrine was chiefly concerned with the completion of the four thousand years of the Muslim era, so that is, the last century preceding the close of the first millennium, the learned everywhere in India were discussing the question. Finally the movement took on a definite form through the teaching of one Mir Sayid Muhammad al Jannati, in the latter part of the 16th century A.D.

"The Afshar movement have been characterized by, reasons that are significant. They have been led by men of education, who have possessed great personal power or position and could draw multitudes to them. Secondly they assumed a definitely hostile attitude towards the learned men who held office at the Emperor's court. Thirdly, they endeavored to be reformers of Hindu, being unorthodox."

1. B. I. D., op. cit., IV, pp. 308-4

2. Ibid., further follow pp. 308-9

(ii) THREE KINGS

Mahmud, after the murder of his nephew, assumed the crown of Sher Shah and assumed the title of Mahmud

1. Mahmud
Sher Shah

Sah Addi. But his character soon changed to self-styled epithet of 'Addi (The just)', into first

Addi (the justice), and then into *Aschik* (kind). Euphemisms apart, "His character was not such as to efface the memory of his crime: he was greatly ignorant, fond of coarse debauchery and low society, and as detestable from his incapacity as he was odious for his vices." One illustration from Ferozshah may be here cited:— "Having often heard much in praise of the magnificence of former kings, particularly of Mahmud Tughlak, and wondering prodigality for liberality, he opened the treasury, and lavished riches on all ranks without distinction. As he rode out he discharged amongst the multitude golden-headed arrows, which sold for ten or twelve rupies each. This manner extravagance soon left him without any of the treasures of his predecessors." When he had nothing of his own to give, he resumed the government and gifts of his nobles, and borrowed them on his liveries; 'among whom, one Huzul, a Hindu shop-keeper whom he preferred, Sultan Shah, had made superintendent of the mints, was entrusted with the whole administration of affairs. The King in the measureless heedlessness of what passed, spent his time to excess among the amuses of his harem. This naturally created his enemies among the Afghan chiefs, who, having conspired against his life, revolted from his authority. The King became daily more and more despicable in the eyes of his subjects, while all regularity in the Government ceased."

Under these chaotic circumstances, the more ambitious among the nobles and persons tried to further each his

2. Ibrahim
Khan 50:

own nest. Sir Khan Khan: for instance, openly declared, "that affairs had taken such an extraordinary turn at Court, that he was determined to push his own before." His rebellion obliged the King to take the field in person, and go to his pursuit towards Chander. Taking this opportunity,

1. Euphemisms, op. cit., p. 400.

2. Feroz, II, p. 144.

3. Euphemisms, loc. cit., p. 461.

4. Feroz, loc. cit.

Erlikhan Khan, the King's cousin and brother-in-law, raised a considerable army and getting possession of the city of Delhi ascended the throne, and assumed the name of regality. From thence he marched to Lohi and reduced the contiguous provinces: Mahabud, Shih Adah, finding himself betrayed, fled to Candia, and concerted himself with the government of the eastern provinces, while Erlikhan Khan retained possession of the western territory.¹

Erlikhan Khan no sooner ascended the throne of Delhi than another competitor arose in the Punjab in the person of the Prince Ahmed Khan, another nephew of the late Sher Shih, whose sister was married to Mahabud Shih Adah. Ahmed Khan, having procured the aid of Mahabud Khan and other chiefs, who had been treated cruelly by the late Sher Shih, assumed the title of Sikandar Shih, and marching with 10 or 12 thousand horse towards Agri, encamped at Kuria, within twenty miles of that city. Erlikhan Khan opposed him with 10,000 horse, but nevertheless was defeated. He then, abandoning his capital, retreated to Kandahar, while Sikandar Khan took possession both of Delhi and Agri. He had not long enjoyed his good fortune, however, when Muradkhan advanced into the Punjab to recover his dominion, with what consequence we have already witnessed. After his defeat at Sirhind he fled to the Swatich mountains, whence he was expelled, and sought refuge in Bengal where he assumed the name of government, and shortly after died.²

(C) FAILURE OF THE SIKH DYNASTY

A last factor of hope had been raised among the Afghans, when Sikandar, having ascended the throne at Agri, held a magnificent festival, and calling together all his chiefs, spoke to this effect:—“I esteem myself as one of you: having thus far acted for the commonweal, I claim no superiority. Butah saved the tribe of Loth to glory and reputation. Sher Shih rendered the tribe of Sir illustrious, and now Hamidkhan the Maghal, fair to his father's conquests is watching for an opportunity to destroy us all, and re-establish his government. If, therefore, you are sincere, and will set aside private factions and animosities, we may still retain our kingdom; but if you think me incapable of rule, let an able hand

1. Ibid., iv. 148-49.

2. Ibid., p. 153.

and a stronger arm be elected from among you, that I also may never allegiance to him : I promise most faithfully to support, help, and will endeavour to maintain the kingdom in the hands of the Afghins, who have retained it by their valour for so many years." The Afghan chiefs after this appeal, unswayed with one accord :—"We unanimously acknowledge you, the nephew of our Emperor Sher Sháh, our lawful overlord." Calling then for the Aghas, 12 men both to observe allegiance to Sherádar, and to maintain unity among themselves.¹ But, in a few days, Perséus tells us "the chiefs began to dispute about governments, honours, and places, and the flames of discord were kindled, and blazed hotter than ever, so that every one reproached his neighbour with the perfidy of which each was equally guilty."²

The other members of the Sír family did not fare better than Sherádar. When he was fighting against the Mughals the other Sírs, instead of joining hands with him to repel their common enemy, were fighting among themselves. Dostlián Kóla marched to Kábil, while at the same time Mahmúd Sháh Adalí directed his uncle Hamí, with an army well appointed in cavalry, elephants and artillery, from Chander, with a view to recover the eastern Empire. Hamí attacked Dostlián Sháh at Kábil, and having defeated him, he was compelled to fly to his father (Ghulá Kóla) at Bagdad, pursued by Hamí who besieged him in that city for three months. Miranshi, the ruler of Bengal—also a Sír—led his army against Adalí and obliged Hamí to return hastily. Emboldened by this Dostlián pursued him to Agá; but being again defeated, once more retired to Bagdad. After some adventures in Bundelkhánd, which had become independent under Báu Bahádur, he fled to Orissa, where he suffered an ignominious death during the reign of Akbar. Mahmúd Sháh Sír of Bengal took refuge in Bundelkhánd, but being pursued by Hamí was soon slain. Mahmúd Sháh Adalí, after this victory, instead of proceeding to Agá, returned to Chander, to assemble more troops in order to carry on the war against Hamí; but he was soon after informed of that monarch's death, which induced him to detach Hamí, with 50,000 horse, and 500 elephants, towards Agá, not daring to leave Chander himself on account of the faction which prevailed among his countrymen the Afghins.³

1. Briggs, II. p. 103.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 146-52.

The rest of the story belongs naturally to the reign of Akbar after the defeat and death of Humay, Shahmūd Shāh's nephew, deposed rapidly. Akbar Khān, the next ruler of Bengal, avenged himself for his father's death, by wresting a great part of the eastern provinces out of the hands of Aksh, whom he eventually deposed and slew.

The sudden and sharp downturn of the promising and glorious epoch opened by the dramatic successes of Sher Shāh, appears to have been equally marked by a sad and devastating famine. Baridzād gives the following description of the plight of the people who had already suffered enough from the chaotic conditions incidental to constant warfare: — "At this time a dreadful famine raged in the eastern provinces, especially in Agra, Bayana, and Delhi, so that one ear of grain (*gahū*) rose to 24 *ankas*, and even at that price could not be obtained. Many of the faithful closed their doors, and died by tens and twenties, and even in greater numbers, and found neither coffin nor grave. Hordes perished in the same numbers. The common people fed upon the seeds of the stony waste upon dry herbage of the forest, and on the hides of the cattle which the wealthy slaughtered and sold. After a few days swellings rose on their hands and feet, so that they died, and the date is represented by the words *khudā-i-karā*: "wrath of God." The ruler with his own eyes witnessed the fact that men ate their own kind, and the appearance of the famished sufferers was so hideous that one could scarcely look upon them. What with scarcity of rain, the famine and the desolation, and what with uninterrupted warfare for two years, the whole country was a desert, and no husbandmen remained to till the ground. Insurgents also plundered the cities."

1. *S. & D.*, op. cit., V, pp. 460-61.

GENEALOGY



Note—Akbar had other wives and children, but they are not relevant here.

AUTHORITIES

A. PRIMARY: (i) *The Ain-i Akbari*, by Abu-i Fazl Allami, translated from the original Persian; vol. I, Calcutta, 1873, by H. Blochmann, contains biographies of officials, compiled from various sources; vol. II, 1881, and vol. III, 1884, by H. S. Jarrett (include "The Happy Sayings of His Majesty"). The whole is invaluable for the account of Akbar's administrative system.

(ii) *The Akbar-Nama* or "History of Akbar" by Abu-i Fazl translated from the Persian, by Henry Beveridge. It comes down to the early part of 1605, or the end of the 46th year of Akbar's reign. It was brought to an abrupt close by the murder of its author in that year. "The historical matter in Abu-i Fazl's book," observes V. A. Smith, "is buried in a mass of tedious rhetoric, and the author, an unflinching flatterer of his hero, sometimes conceals or even deliberately perverts, the truth (e.g., the dating of Akbar's birth with the story of his coming); and the account of the expedition of Jahangir." Nevertheless, the *Akbar-Nama*, notwithstanding its gross and obvious faults, must be treated as the foundation for a history of Akbar's reign. Its chronology is more accurate and detailed than that of the usual books by Hume-i-din and Barfield, and it brings the story on to a later date than they do."

(iii) *The TARIKH-i Badshahi or Mubtashshih-i Tawhid* (tr. E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 425-549) has already been noticed. Smith says, "Barfield's interesting work contains so much hostile criticism of Akbar that it was kept concealed during that Emperor's lifetime, and could not be published until after Jahangir's accession. The book being written from the point of view taken by a disgraced Grand

great information...which is not to be found in the other Persian histories, but agrees generally with the testimony of the Jesuit authors.' However, it is needless to add, it must be used with great caution.

(iv) The *Tahdih-i Akbari*, by Mahmud-din Akbari, (also called Tankh: Maasid) has also been already noticed. It comes down only to the 26th year of Akbar's reign, a. d. 1583-4 (a. h. 1003). The author, Khwaja Mahmud-din Akbari was the Chief *Bakhshi* under Akbar, and died at Lahore in Oct. 1594. "The book," says Smith, 'is a dry, colorless chronicle of external events...It omits all mention of many matters of importance, and needs to be constantly read...The book was much used by Ferishta and later compilers, and in its pure way is a particularly good specimen of Muslim chronicle-writing."

(v) *Ferishta*, already noticed. He was also called Muhammad Efendi Hindi Sahib, and was born about A.D. 1570. Smith considers Briggs' the best translation (*History of the Rise of the Mohammedan Power in India, 1829*)—Calcutta ed. 1868, vol. iv, pp. 181-333. 'Briggs represents his original with freedom, but in the main, as far as I have seen, with truth' (Jarrett). Ferishta based his work on earlier books like the *Tahdih-i Akbari*, on tradition, and on personal experience. "He is generally considered the best of the Indian compilers... His account of Akbar's reign has little independent value although, so far as the later years are concerned, he wrote as a contemporary who had taken a small personal share in the Emperor's transactions in the Deccan." (Smith).

(vi) Various other works, extracts from which are to be found in translation in E. & D., op. cit., vols. V and VI, may be only briefly noticed here. They are—

1. The *Wajiz-i Akbari Asaf Beg*, an interesting and useful account of the later years of Akbar's reign, by an official who had been long in Akbar's service.—E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 150-74.

2. The *Zabih-i Tawakkil*, by Sheikh Nur-ud Din—includes the only distinct notice given by any Mohammedan historian of the Gwalior family which dominated N. India for three or four years from a. d. 1595 to 1598.—*Ibid.*, pp. 122-34.

3. The *Tahkik-i Aja*, compiled by Mas'ud Akbari and others, by Akbar's order issued in 1582 (A. d. 1585)—includes description of the sieges of Chitor and Ranthambhor.—*Ibid.*, V., pp. 122-35.

4. *The Akbar Nama*, by Sheikh Mahammad Fazl Serafud-din—represents the official version of the fall of Adalgark.—Ind., VI, pp. 115-66.

5. *The Fuzulha Salahiya Aghana*, written about 1555, by Ahmad Yaqub, is a good authority for the battle of Panipat (1556) and the connected events up to the death of Humayun.—Ind., V, pp. 15-68.

6. *The Nizam*, by Abu'l-Fazl (the elder brother of Abu'l-Fazl)—contains a letter concerning negotiations with the Deccan states.—Ind., VI, pp. 147-50.

7. *The Fuzulha Jahangiri or Mirrors of Jahangir* etc.—Ind. pp. 554-652.

8. *The Mir'at-i Jahangiri*, by Khwaja Kamru'l-Din Khafi, a contemporary official—contains the proceedings of Jahangir's process to his accession.—Ind., pp. 441-64.

JESUIT SOURCES

It is not possible here to give even a mere catalogue of all the Jesuit authorities, which are to be found in many European languages, some published, many awaiting publication. The few that are named below are those most frequently cited, and considered indispensable for a study of particularly Jesuit relations with the Great Mogul. For a more detailed account of these sources the reader is directed to F. A. Smith's *Akbar the Great Mogul* Bibliography, pp. 468-71.; and Sir Edward Maclagan's later (1922) work *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, Ch. I, pp. 5-19.

(1) The earliest printed authority for the Missionary Society points out, with the exception of the *Annuaire Lettre* for 1582-3 in the British Museum, is the very rare little tract in Italian by John Baptist Persico. It was printed at Rome in 1697, and later French, German, and Latin translations also appeared.

(2) The chief of the Jesuit Histories, bearing on the subject of the Mission, Maclagan says, is that by Father Guezman, (written in Spanish) based on (a) published works; (b) letters from the Fathers; and (c) personal enquiries. It brings the story up to 1699. It was first published in 1691, "The history constitutes an excellent authority." (Maclagan.)

—(3a) Father Guezman's Portuguese work "is for practical purposes a continuation of Guezman's history, and is, like that work,

an authority of high importance." It covers the period from 1840 to 1852, and was published in five volumes. "The book is a first one but copies of all five volumes are in the British Museum" (Ibid.).

(iv) "43 written on the subject of the *Jesuit Mission*," says Smith, "must be chiefly on the great work by Father Pierre de Jarry. . . . De Jarry is a thoroughly conscientious and accurate writer who reproduces faithfully the substance of the original letters of which considerable portions remain unpublished." The original French edition published in 1861 brings the narrative down to 1860. Its third part which is very valuable was published in 1864. It contains "the true account of the fall of Ashupath, hitherto unattested by modern historians, with one partial exception, and presents the most authentic existing narrative of the Emperor's last days, and fixes the date of his death as October 27, new style, or October 17th, old style" (Smith).

(v) "One of the most useful *Jesuit* publications, and one slightly more accurate than most of the others, is the compilation by Father Daniel Barthe, S.J., originally printed in 1863. It gives a long list of early authorities on the life of Aquinas. It does not deal with the later *Missions*. It is based on the writings of Monseigneur, Parada, and others, and is well written." (Ibid.).

OTHER EUROPEANS

(i) "The only lay European traveller known to have visited Akbar's dominions, and to have recorded his impressions to any considerable length is Ralph Fitch, who left England in 1583 and returned in 1591. . . . Fitch proceeded to Bengal, Surra, and other lands, which he described in rough notes." His account is found in 'Ralph Fitch, *England's Pioneer to India, etc.*' (Oxford, London, 1898).

(ii) For other travellers and writers, who really refer to Akbar following the death of Akbar, and contain no first hand impressions of the Emperor see Smith, *op. cit.*, Bibliography, pp. 471-76. He deals with Purchas, Terry, Noe, De Lucc, Herbert, Mandeville, Mandelstam, Bernier, and Munson.

B. Secondary (i) *The Emperor Akbar*, by Ananta Bhusnag is a translation of the German '*Kaiser Akbar*' by Van Dier (but with additions, corrections, and notes) (Calcutta, Thacker.

(BEO) It is the only considerable modern work, says Smith, devoted solely to Akbar's reign, and in spite of its many defects is of value.

(C) *The Persians at the Court of Akbar, and Doctor Meherjibhai Rana*, by the late Dr. J. J. Modi (Bombay, 1902) is a fully documented discussion of Akbar's relations with the Persians.

(C1) *The Army of the Indian Moghals, Its Organisation and Administration*, by William Irvine (Lancaster, 1903). It "is an extremely careful although dry presentation of the subject, based on close study of a large number of Persian works, printed and manuscript. Irvine's book gives all the essential information about the army of Akbar, and is indispensable for a right understanding of the mansabdari system" (Smith).

(C2) *Akbar and the Jesuits*, by C. H. Payne (1916) contains a translation of De Jaria with valuable notes, and covers the period down to the death of Akbar, 1605.

(C3) *Mughal Administrators*, by Jatanath Sarkar (Calcutta, 2nd ed., 1924).

(C4) *Akbar*, by Col. G. H. Malleson (Oxford, 1906).

(C5) *Akbar the Great Mogul*, by V. A. Smith (Oxford, 1917).

(C6) *Akbar*, by Lawrence Binyon (Peter Davies, London, 1920)—though not an authority is an interesting work, more sympathetic and fair to its subject than many another.

(C7) *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, by Sir Edward Maclagan (Burns Oates, London, 1912) is the most recent and exhaustive study of the subject at date with.

Note—For other sources like literature, art, numismatics, etc., see Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, pp. 463-66. Also ib. pp. 1-3, for a more accurate and appreciative statement of all the sources.

(C8) *Mughal Period* by Prof. Sri Ram Sharma, M.A., (Lahore).

(C9) *Tarikh-i-Hind* by V. S. Bendrey (Poona, 1931).

CHAPTER V

RESTORATION OF EMPIRE

"Agha has always appeared to me among sovereigns who Shalagran was among poets."—SIR WILLIAM SLAUGHTER

"The competent scholar who will undertake the extensive treatment of the life and reign of Agha will be in possession of perhaps the finest great historical subject as yet unexploited!"

—V. A. SMITH.

1. PRINCIPAL EVENTS (1838-1860)

(a) BIRTH AND ACCIDENT

1. We have already taken note of the following statement by Nizam-d din Ahmad regarding the birth of Agha :—

"Fortune now for a time changed its treatment of the Emperor (Haidar), by giving him a son, and impressing an imperishable mark upon the page of time. The child was born on the 5th Rajab, 1246 (15th October 1842). Tark Beg Khān conveyed this intelligence to the Emperor in the neighbourhood of Amuloh, and the Emperor under spiritual guidance... gave to the child the name of Jalil-d din Muhammad Agha."

Haidar, who was a pious man, when he heard of the birth of his son, appears (on the testimony of Janab, his personal attendant) to have broken a pot of milk (the only provision thing he could get in his exile in the desert) on a silver plate, and "distributed it among all the principal persons, saying : "This is all the present I can afford to make you on the birth of my son, whose fate will

1. V. A. Smith gives a slightly different date : "The child having been born on the night of the full moon (Rāston 14, A. H. 1245), equivalent to Thursday, November 25, 1842, the happy father ordered on the eve the name of his Haidar-din, meaning 'the Full Moon of Religion' coupled with Muhammad, the name of the Prophet, and Agha signifying 'very great'." (Agha, p. 14.) He also makes the following observation with regard to the place of Agha's birth : "Dear Sir, the fort of Umar of Omar a chief of the Sindh tribe. The place, situated in 25° 31' N. and 68° 45' E., is now a town with about 1,000 inhabitants, the head quarters of the Thar and Parhar District, Sind. Many Persian and English authors write the name erroneously as Amuloh, with various corruptions as if derived from the Hindi word amra, meaning 'citrus' a frequent element in Hindi names." (Ibid. p. 22 n. 2).

I trust, be one day extended all over the world, as the perfume of the desert now fills this apartment."¹

ii. The next story noted how Prince Akbar was left behind in Kandahar, when Hamdulla left for Persia in quest of fortune : how, he was picked up by his uncle Asad, and brought up for about a year by Sultan Hasan 'who treated him with great tenderness' : how, too, at the close of Hamdulla's fight with Kharin, the little Prince was determined to be exposed to the fire of the guns on the battlements of the Kabul fort.

iii. The next we heard of Prince Akbar was, after the death of his uncle Hamid, when Shira Sultan, Hamid's daughter, was given in marriage to him, and Akbar was put in charge of Hamid's command and the government of Ghazni.

iv. Lastly, we noted how he followed his father in his attempted reconquest of Herat, in which the great victory at Nijand was won in the presence of Prince Akbar in their midst. 'Under his (Hamdulla's) orders a despatch of the victory was drawn, in which the honour of the victory was awarded to Prince Akbar, and this was displayed in all directions.'

v. After this victory at Nijand, Sultan Iskandar Mirza fled to the British possessions. Mir Abdul Mu'iz who had been sent in pursuit of him, having failed, Iskandar 'daily grew stronger'. This came to the knowledge of the Emperor, who immediately sent Duran Khan in attendance upon Prince Akbar as his *amir* or governor, to put an end to Iskandar's operations.²

vi. When Akbar was engaged in these operations, occurred the sudden illness and death of Hamdulla. 'Shahin Jai was sent to the Purgho to summon Prince Akbar . . . Shahin Jai . . . obtained an interview with the Prince Akbar at Kandahar. He communicated the fact of the King's illness, and intelligence of his death soon after arrived. After due observance of the rites of mourning, the nobles who were in the tents of the Prince, under the leading of Duran Khan, acknowledged the succession of the Prince, and as the *Red Path* was now he ascended the throne of Empire at Kandahar.³ Further on, the same writer (Nasr-ud-din Ahmad) tells us, 'Durran Khan, commander-in-chief, with the concurrence of the nobles and

1. *Ibid.* p. 25.

2. *E. & D.*, op. cit., V, p. 226.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 266.

efforts raised His Highness to the throne as the throne of Kulluor at noon-day of Friday, the 2nd of Rebi'ul awwal 1323 H. (Feb. 14, 1895) with all due state and ceremony, and letters of grant and favour were sent to all parts of Hindustan.¹ The proclamation of his accession had been made at Delhi three days earlier on February 11, and three days after the enthronement at Kulluor a "celebration *darbar*" was held, of which Ahmed Yildiz gives the following description:—

Burhan Khán gave a great entertainment, and raised a large audience-hall, adorned with embroidered satin, like the flowerbeds of a garden in the early Spring, of Paradise itself. His splendid carpets of various colours, and on them he placed a golden throne, and caused Prince Akbar Mirza to sit on it, after which the *darbar* was opened to the public. The nobles of the Chaghatai tribe were made joyful by the gift of expensive dresses of honour, and regal presents, and promises of future favour were likewise made to them. Burhan Khán said, "This is the commencement of His Majesty's reign."²

(3) POLITICAL SITUATION

"When he went through the ceremony at Kulluor," says Smith, "he could not be said to possess any Kingdom. The small army under the command of Burhan Khán merely had a precarious hold by force on certain districts of the Punjab; and that army itself was not to be trusted implicitly. Before Akbar could become Peshwa it is policy as well as necessity he had to prove himself better than the

1. Ibid., p. 247. The formal enthronement took place in a garden at Kulluor (Qandilpur Dera). The throne, a plain brick structure 48 ft. long 5 ft. high, resting on a square platform, with canopy. . . . The dais itself has been recently enclosed in a plain post-and-rail fence, and a suitable inscription in English and Urdu has been affixed." The present king of Lahore used to be enthroned at Kulluor, and the town was at that time of larger size. Now it has a population of only about 5,000.—(Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 261.)

2. E. and D. *op. cit.*, V, p. 46. Yildiz actually places this incident three days before the battle of Muzrai, but from the nature of the description itself it seems highly improbable that Burhan Khán's proclamation of Akbar could have been deferred so long. Smith places the *darbar* as above stated.—(see *loc. cit.*, p. 25.) Note also that the date was at the beginning of Akbar's reign, dated from Rebi'ul awwal (March 11) or 25 days after the actual accession. The era was reckoned from the next new-moon or Persian New Year's Day, the interval of 25 days being regarded part of the 1st regnal year (commencing from Mar. 19, 1895)—(Ibid., n.)

ried diamonds to the throne, and at least to win back his father's lost dominions."¹

Among the questions at Sher Shah, Shamsud Din was yet to be resolved. Mahmud Shah's father was still alive, and his Herat general, Hurd, had become a power to reckon with even more than his nominal master. Bengal had remained independent for more than two centuries, mostly under the Afghans. The Sikhs, since the defeat of Panipat, having recovered from the defeat they had sustained at the hands of Tilak were enjoying unchallenged possession of their territory ever since the death of Sher Shah at Khatwa. Baluch and Gujarat had thrown off the sovereignty of Delhi, even before the flight of Humayun. Candiana and Central India were in a state of absolute independence. The Deccan states of Shindehs, Ahmednagar, Berar, Bidar, Golkonda, and Bijapur were in the grasp of their local politics and quarrels with Vijayanagar which was still in the zenith of its power. In the Arabian Sea and on the west coast, the Portuguese were growing strong. The state of the Punjab and the north-west was still very unsettled and full of potential and actual danger.

1. 'Among the prominent events of the early days of the reign,' says Niama-d din Ahmad, 'was the rebellion of Shah Abu-I-Mahmud.'

The late King had a great partiality for him, and this fostered his pride, so that presumptuous ideas got mastery over him, and his conduct was marked by some unseemly actions.² The Khan-i-Khanan (Baran Khan) avoided him and was about to execute him, but the young Emperor was eventually disposed and was unwilling that the beginning of his reign should be stained with the execution of a descendant of the Sultans before any crime had been proved against him. So he placed him in the custody of Padshah Kal-gas (Kowli) and sent him to Lahore. Abu-I-Mahmud escaped from custody,³ but after some adventure was recaptured and sent a prisoner to the fort of Bagiana.⁴

2. Niama-d din further states, 'So long as Shamsud Afghan (Shah) was in the field, the officers of the Emperor were unable to

1. Ibid.

2. E.g., he failed to answer the summons to the capital at the time of the double share referred to—see Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

3. E. & O., *op. cit.*, V, p. 345.

take any measures for the capture of the fugitive, but sent all their forces against Shikandar. The Imperial forces encountered the Afghans near the Swatlik mountains, and gained victory which elicited grateful marks of approval from the Emperor.¹ Even after this defeat, Shikandar continued to hold on for some time longer, but finally, 'being reduced to great extremities (as the Târikh-i Durr-i-âddi) sent his son Akbar Bahadur from Mirdat in the Swatlik hills to Akbar Badakhsh, representing that he had committed many offences, on account of which he dared not present himself at Court, that he sent the four ransoms he had with him as a peace-offering, and requested leave to be allowed to return to Bengal, and pass the remainder of his life in retirement. Akbar assented to all his solicitations and gave him leave to depart to Bengal. Shikandar died three years after this surrender.'²

30 When Humayun marched to Hindustan, he (had) just signed the government of Kabul and Ghor to Murad Khan, one of his chief nobles, and he also made him guardian (amir) of his son, Mirza Muhammad Hakim. The ray of Kandahar and its dependent territories were the right of Baran Khan (Khan-i-Babur). By the kindness of His Majesty the government of Badakhshan was assigned to Mirza Salim. . . . But when the haughtiness of Humayun's death reached him, ambitious designs took hold of him, and he marched against Kabul and laid siege to it. Murad Khan wrote a full report of all the facts of the matter, and sent it to the Emperor . . . when the news of the siege of Kabul arrived, an imperative decree was issued, . . . and Mirza Salim, seeing that he could effect nothing by hostile means . . . returned Murad Khan that, if his name were omitted in the khanda, he would take his departure. Murad Khan knew that the garrison of the fort was suffering from the protracted siege, so he consented that the name of Mirza Salim should be mentioned in the list of the tribes (and allies) of the Majesty the Emperor. When Mirza Salim was informed of

¹ *ibid.*, IV, p. 100.

² *ibid.*, IV, p. 106. The final surrender of Shikandar at Mirdat did not take place until May 1557, i.e. about six months after the battle of Pratap (Nov. 1556), the fact that was hastened on him by Akbar (not) aided the Durranis of Kandahar and Badk. Murad (now in the former territory of the Kandahar State) was the fort held by Salim for it, a bulwark against the durrans. — Smith, op. cit., p. 40, *Tabakhshahi*, op. cit., p. 496 n. 4.

this occasion he immediately departed for Badakhshan.¹

14. 'Tardī Beg Khān, who was one of the most devoted of the nobles of Humāyūn's reign, and held an exalted place in that man and's estimation, in the same week that the Emperor died caused the Akshad to be read in Delhi in the name of the Emperor Akbar. He also, with the help of Khudā Salīm Khān, uncle and adviser, who was also mīr-i am and mīr-i awl jāg under control the affairs of Delhi, and of Mirza and other persons whom had but lately been brought under royal authority.'² But in spite of all these good services, Tardī Beg had come to pay for his loyalty with his life.

The circumstances were the advance of Hemū upon Delhi and the defeat and flight of Tardī Beg from the capital. The exact nature of the Khān's delinquency is a subject of controversy. We noted in the last chapter that Mahrūd Shāh Adal dispatched Hemū towards the Panjab upon hearing of the death of Humāyūn. 'That general, having scored a victory at Gwalior, laid siege to Agra, and having reduced it, proceeded to Delhi. Tardī Beg Khān the prominent, armed with consternation, sent expresses to all the Mogul chiefs in the neighbourhood to come to his aid. Hemū charged Tardī Beg Khān with such ingratitude, that he compelled him to quit the field. The right wing of the Moguls was routed, the fight became general, and the city of Delhi also surrendered. Tardī Beg Khān fled to Sirhind, leaving the whole country open to the enemy ... Bāzurg Khān ... caused Tardī Beg Khān to be seized and he headed for abandoning Delhi, where he might have defended himself ... Bāzurg Khān remarked that liberty at such a crisis would lead to dangerous consequences, as the only hopes left to the Moguls at the present moment, depended on every individual exerting himself to the utmost of his power. The King felt obliged to approve of this course measure. The author of this work (Erīstān) had understood, from the best informed men of the times, that had Tardī Beg Khān not been executed by way of example, such was the condition of the Mogul army and the general feeling of these foreigners, that the old come of Sher Shāh would have been aided over again. But, in consequence of this prompt though severe measure, the Chaghtai officers, each of whom before encountered himself at least equal to Kāshidān and Kākur, now found it necessary to

1. E. D., op. cit., V. pp. 245-50.

2. Ibid., 244-45.

conform to the orders of Baram Khān, and to submit speedily to his authority.¹

V. A. Smith observes, 'The punishment, although inflicted in an irregular fashion without trial, was necessary and substantially just.' It may be reasonably affirmed that failure to punish the deviation of Tārā Beg from his duty would have cost Akbar both his throne and his life.²

¹ *Ibid.* vol. I.

(4) SECOND BATTLE OF PANIPAT

"Hemū, who had now assumed the title of Rājā Vikramāditya at Delhi, having attached Śahīd Khān and other Afghān chieftains to his interest, marched out of the capital to meet the King, with an army as numerous as the locusts and ants of the desert.' So writes Ferishta.³ The situation was undoubtedly a serious one. Akbar who at the time of the capitalisation of Delhi, was an adolescent, 'finding all his dominions, except the Punjab, wrested from him, was perplexed how to act. At length, feeling confident of himself, both from youth and inexperience, he conferred on Bābur Khān the title of Khān Dādā (signifying "father," here meaning regent or protector) . . . and also assigned of Bābur Khān to swear on his part by the soul of his deceased father Humāyūn, and by the head of his own son, that he would be faithful to him thus. After this a council being called by Bābur Khān, the majority of the officers were of opinion, that as the enemy's force consisted of more than a hundred thousand horse, while the royal army could scarcely number 20,000, it would be prudent to retire to Kābul. Bābur

¹ Briggs, II. pp. 156-157.

² *Oxford History of India*, p. 342.

³ Akbar, p. 38.

⁴ Briggs, II. p. 157. According to Abūshāh Vāsiṭī, when Hemū entered Delhi, he 'assaid the Imperial canopy over him and ordered him to be seated in his name. He appointed governors of his own, and brought the Delhi territory and the neighbouring provinces under his command, and in order to console the King (Akbar Khān), he sent an account of the victory in these words: "Your slave, by the royal fortress, has routed the Mughal army, which was less in an iron wall, but I hear that Humāyūn's son commands a numerous force, and is advancing towards Delhi. For this reason I have kept the horses and elephants of the Mughals, in order that I may be able to face the valiant enemy, and not allow them to reach Delhi." Akbar Khān was comforted by these cheerful assurances" (F. and O., pp. 66, V. p. 42.)

Khán not only opposed this measure, but was almost singular in his opinion that the King ought instantly to give battle to the enemy. The vote of Akbar which was in unison with the sentiments of Bairam Khán decided the question.¹

Hemū began the action with his elephants, on the morning of the 2nd of Ashvina, 964 H (November 2, 1556) in hopes of alarming the enemy's cavalry, unaccustomed to these animals; but the Mughals attacked them so bravely, after they had penetrated even to the centre of the army, where Khán Zaman commanded, that, galled with lance arrows and javelins, they became quite unruly, and disdaining the control of their drivers, turned and threw the Afghan ranks into confusion. Hemū mounted on an elephant of prodigious size, still continued the action with great bravery, at the head of 4,000 horse, in the very heart of the Mughal army; but being pierced through the eye with an arrow, he sank into his saddle from extreme agony. The greater part of his army feared his wound was mortal and forsook him. Raising himself again, he continued to fight with unabated courage, encouraging, with the few men who remained about his person, to force his retreat through the enemy's line.... At length he was surrounded by a body of horse, and carried prisoner to Akbar, who was about two or three *kos* in the rear.

When Hemū was brought into the presence, Bairam Khán recommended the King to do a meritorious act by killing the rebel with his own hand. Akbar, in order to fulfil the wish of his minister, drew his sword, and touching the head of the captive, became entitled to the appellation of Ghāzī, while Bairam Khán, drawing his own sword, at a single blow severed the head of Hemū from his body.²

1. Ferries, *Biography*, II, pp. 185-86.

2. This is Ferries's account, *Biography*, II, pp. 186-87. There are different versions of this incident, as well as of the details of the battle. Ahmad Yaqūb says, 'The Emperor, accordingly, struck him, and divided his head from his mortal body'—*Et. & D.*, op. cit., V, 85-6. Smith accepts this version, and observes: 'Akbar, a boy of fourteen, cannot be justly blamed for complying with the instructions of Bairam Khán, who had a right to expect obedience; nor is there any good ground for supposing that at that time the boy was more scrupulous than his officers. The official story, ... seems to be the late invention of nearly forgotten.... At the time of the battle of Pithorā, Akbar was an unexperienced lad, devoted to

(d) *Pratipadikā* Kṛmāḥ 47-50, 1560.

The principal events that happened after the accession of *Shah* may be summarized here for the sake of brevity thus:—

- (i) The occupation of Delhi and Agra.
- (ii) The capture of Mirzā, and the execution of *Shah's* father.
- (iii) The acquisition of Agra.
- (iv) The surrender of Gadhār.
- (v) The acquisition of Jaunpūr.
- (vi) Attacks on Pantanāthar and Mirzā.

Alphandere rightly points out, "The real coronation of the House of Tīmūr may be dated from this period—it had been brought about secretly through the marriage of Bābur with Khān, whose power was now at the highest pitch ever reached by a subject."¹ At the end of this period we find the great Khān fallen from his high estate, almost suddenly if not unexpectedly, reminding us of Wolsey's memorable words to Thomas Cromwell on the fall of his human fortune and the precariousness of royal favour.

The task before Albur was a three-fold one: (1) to recover the dominions of the Crown; (2) to establish his authority over his chiefs; and (3) to restore in the internal administration that order which had been lost in the course of so many revolutions.

"In the first years of Albur's reign, his territory was confined to the Panjāb and the country round Delhi and Agra. In the third year he acquired Agra without a battle; early in the fourth, he obtained the fort of Gadhār; and, not long before Bābur's fall he had driven the Afghans out of Lucknow, and the country on the Ganges as far east as Jaunpūr."²

The Muslim historians follow a mostly chronological order, without using *shamsīyās* even as regards the relative importance of events.

amusement, and must not be credited with the feelings of its native monarch"—Albur, p. 26. *Khilāfat al-Ahmadi*, who was Albur's Chief Minister, however, definitely says, "Bābur Khilāfatkhān then put Hume to death with his own hand"—*E. & D.*, op. cit., V, p. 252. For a fuller discussion see "The death of Hume", *J. R. A. S.* 1922, p. 227. Also "The Death of Hume" by Sultana Begum, in *Dacca U. Studies*, I, 1, Nov. 1926.

1. *History of India*, p. 496.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 502.

We have therefore to collate the most significant facts from the *juwâiz*, and rearrange them in an intelligible order. The following narrative is taken principally from the *Tafâhîs Akhshî*, the *Akhar-Nüssa*, and the *Tawârik Fawâid* :

'Next day (after the execution of Hamû) the army marched from Pâmpet, and without halting anywhere, went straight to Delhi. All the inhabitants of the city of every degree came forth to give His Majesty a suitable reception and to conduct him with due honour into the city. He remained there one month.¹ From here two important expeditions were led : (a.) against Mewâlî, because 'Intelligence was brought in that all the dependants of Hamû, with his treasures and effects, were at Mewâlî.' (b.) against Sikandar Alghor (Sâr), whose rebellion has already been described above. The first was led by Pîr Muhammad Sarwâlî. 'He captured all the persons and took possession of all the valuables, and conducted them to the foot of the throne. The *Akhar-Nüssa* gives other details, and says that Hamû's father was given the choice between conversion and death, when the old man refused to apostatize. 'Pîr Muhammad gave an answer with the tongue of his sword.'² Mewâlî was confirmed as a sâib upon Pîr Muhammad, who was a confidential servant of Burhan Khân. 'On their way back from Ajuar or Mewâlî, 'Hay Khân took possession of Ajuar and Nigâr and all those parts. Muhammad Khân Khân was sent by the Emperor to take charge of Ajuar.'³

The expedition against Sikandar, up to a certain stage, was led by Akbar in person. Then, when his mother Mariyam Mahdî and other royal ladies returned from Kâbul, 'the Emperor left Burhan Khân in command of the army, and went forth to meet them. He heartily receiving great comfort from the reunion.' Towards the end of March, 1808, 'His Majesty arrived at Delhi. He then turned his attention to the concerns of his subjects and army, and justice and mercy held a prominent place in his councils. The Khân-Mahâl, in concert with the ministers and nobles of the State, used to attend twice a week in the *diwan-khawâs*, and transact business

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 303.

2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VI, p. 31.

3 Smith, *Akhar*, p. 98.

4 E. & D., *loc. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

under the direction and comments of His Majesty. . . . After the expiration of six months, the Emperor embarked on a boat to Agra, where he arrived on the 17th *Aban* moon, 966 H. (1586 Oct., 1586), in the third year of the *IRAN*.¹ At the time Agra was a town of comparatively small importance.

"In the course of the third and fourth regnal years (1586-88)

the gradual consolidation of Akbar's dominion in Hindustan was advanced by the surrender of the strong fortress of Gwalior in Central India, and the annexation of the Jaunpur province in the east. An attempt to take the castle of Ramanathpur in Biljpuriana failed, and preliminary operations for the reduction of Malwa were interrupted by the intrigues and troubles connected with Akbar's appointment of his personal favourite to rule, and the consequent fall of Bursah Khan, the Protector."²

"The fort of Gwalior was celebrated for its height and strength, and had always been the home of great *Rajās*. After the time of Salim Khan (Jahān Shāh) the fort had been placed in the charge of Subah, one of his ghildas, by Salim Muzaffar Adil. When the throne of Akbar had been established at Agra, Haidar Ali Subah, Malikul All Khor, and Khyā Khan were sent to take the fort. They invested it for some days and the garrison being in distress surrendered." This brief notice of *Muzam-mad-din* is supplemented with some more details by the *Fāhrist-i Aḥl*, which adds: "Akbar when he took up his residence at Agra, gave the jaguar in the neighbourhood of Gwalior as a gift to Khyā Khan. After a time the Khan collected an army and invested Gwalior, but the place was so strong that he could make no impression upon it. Subah was a man of experience, and he saw very clearly that it would be impossible to hold the fort against the growing power of his Imperial neighbour. (So he cleverly sold the fort to Rām Shāh of the old ruling family of Gwalior.) Khyā Khan, the *ghildar* attacked him, and a battle was fought, in which many on both sides were killed. Rām Shāh was defeated, and escaped with difficulty, and went to the King of Ujjain."³ Gwalior was captured in the third year of

1. *Ibid.* V, pp. 286-87.

2. *Ibid.*, op. cit., p. 41.

3. *E. & D.*, op. cit., pp. 289 and 307-8.

Akbar's reign. The next year, beginning with 10th March, 1559 Khán Zaman was sent to subdue Jampur, the capital of the Ghazdya kings, which was now in the possession of the Afghans. He successfully marched thither with a large force, and having won great victories, he returned that country (and Herat, as to Fāzila Afi) to the Imperial dominions.¹

Here a brief allusion must be made to the extinction of the Sāi dynasty of Sher Shāh. The end of Shāhshāh Shāi has already been referred to. Mahāshīd Shāh Adill who had established himself at Chander sag dispatched Shāhī to the west against the Mughals, was the only representative of the house now remaining. His fate is thus described in the *Tārīkh-i Akbarī*:² 'As for Adill, at the time of Shāhshāh's death he was at Chander, and at that juncture the son of Mahāshīd Shāh, by name Khān Khān, ruler of Bengal, who had assumed the name of Shāhī Bahādur advanced with a large army to avenge the blood of his father and Adill proceeded into Bihar to meet him as far as Mongh... The war had not yet risen when Shāhī Bahādur, with his army in array, made an attack upon Adill, and commenced the terrible drama of war. Adill had only a few men with him, but behaved with confident gallantry. The action was fought at the stream of Singpur, about one day more or less from Mongh, and about 12 kos from Patna, and there Adill was defeated and slain, as consequent of the paucity of his numbers, in the year 958 H. (1556 A.D.), after a reign of eight years.'³

'In this year (1556) Hāshīd Shāh Khān was sent against the fort of Ramasāghor. During the rule of Sher Shāh

3. *Surasāthar and Bahādur*.

Afghān this fort was under the charge of Hājī Khān, one of his ghulāms, and this Hājī Khān had now sold the fort to Rāi Sūrjan, a relation of Rāi Uda Singh, who held great power in these parts. He had brought all the persons under his rule, and had assumed his authority. Hāshīd Shāh with his army invested the fort, and ravaged all the neighbourhood, till at last they departed to their abodes.

'At this time, while the Court was at Agri, Bahādur Khān, brother of Khān Zaman, marched to effect the conquest of Māhād, which had formerly belonged to the Khilji sultanate, but which had been brought into subjection by Shāi Bahādur, son of Shāi Khān

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 158-60.

2. His son, assuming the name of Sher Shāh, made an ineffectual attempt to reconquer Jampur from Khān Zaman, and so the Fāzila Shāhī records, 'The son of Adill adopted the life of a recluse after this rapid calamity, and no one knew anything further about him.'—E. & D., IV, pp. 158-9.

Alpina. He had reached the town of Sivas, when the agitation arose about Basmal Khân, and under the orders of the Khân he returned.¹

(c) THE FALL OF BASMAL KHÂN

Early in 1566, Aklâr decided to assume the responsibilities of Government himself. The reasons that led him to do this were various. 'The general management of imperial affairs,' says Nicholson *op. cit.*, 'was under the direction of Basmal Khân, but they were all mere maligned men, who were striving to aggrandize themselves in His Majesty's house, who had no opportunity of speaking an ill word to pervert the mind of the Emperor.' The *Atliar-Nâma*, on the other hand, states: 'Basmal's natural character was good and amiable. But through bad company, that worst misfortune of state, his natural good qualities were overclouded, and arrogance was incited by the flattery.' Abul Fazl also accuses him of conspiracy—'At length Basmal's proceedings went beyond all endurance, and he formed some sinister designs in conspiracy with well-minded disreputables.' Ferishta clinches the matter by adding, 'In short, so many insinuations were thrown out against Basmal Khân, particularly one of a design in favour of Abul Khâim Mirza, the son of the late Khânîsh Mirza, that Aklâr became alarmed, and thought it necessary to curtail the Protector's authority.'²

Misunderstanding once generated, led upon distrust, and every trifling accident was perceived in order to widen the breach. "The Persian histories narrate the circumstances of Basmal Khân's fall at immense length and from different points of view," writes V. A. Smith, but "a concise summary may be sufficient to satisfy the curiosity of the modern reader. When Aklâr had returned on his eighteenth year (A.D. 1566) and begun to feel himself a man, the tumults of the harem in which he was held by his guardians became pining, and he desired to be a king in fact as well as in name. These natural feelings were stimulated and inflamed by the ladies of his household and various courtiers who for one reason or another

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 242.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 243.

3 *Ibid.*, VI pp. 23-4.

4 *Jeune*, II, pp. 149-50.

had grievances against the Protector.¹ His appointment of Sa'id-i-Qadri as *Sadr-i-Sadr* excited the intense animosity of all the *Seniks* at court, who complained, and not without reason, that Bairam Khân showed excessive favour to the adherents of his own *Shay* sect. Many influential people had been offended by the execution of Tard Beg,² and on several occasions Bairam Khân, pressing too much on his position, had behaved with undue arrogance. He was accused, too, of making indiscreet remarks. Moreover, Akbar was annoyed by a special personal grievance, inasmuch as he had no party power, and his household was poorly paid, while the servants of the Protector grew rich. Bairam Khân, on his side, was inclined to think that his servants were indispensable, and was unwilling to surrender the uncontrolled power which he had exercised so long. Gradually it became apparent that either Akbar or Bairam Khân must yield.³ Matters soon reached a crisis.

"The adherents of Bairam Khân were divided in opinion. Sa'id-i-Qadri, the *Sadr-i-Sadr*, and certain other councillors advised their patron to seize Akbar's person and fight the matter out. But Bairam Khân, after some hesitation, honestly refused to stain the record of a lifetime of loyalty by turning traitor, and intimated his intention to submit. Moreover, the council for the most part had deserted the falling minister, and, after the manner of their kind, had turned to worship the rising sun."⁴

Akbar, on the other hand, acted promptly. He sent to Bairam Khân the following message, through his tutor Mir Abd-ol-Latif:—

"As I was assured of your honesty and fidelity, I left all important affairs of State in your charge, and thought only of my own pleasures. I have now determined to take the reins of Government into my own hands, and it is desirable that you should make the

1. The principal cause of all this intrigue at the Court was Miran Arang, who was Akbar's wife or concubine from his cradle. When he grew up, she was head of his household. According to Abul Fazl, she was the prevailing spirit and real ruler for a time—see E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 364-66.

2. Tard Beg and Bairam Khân were old rivals under Humayun; the former was one of the oldest Chaghatai nobles, and he stood in the way of the able and ambitious Bairam, the Timuristan chief looking up to him as much as those from Persia did to Ismael.—Ephraïm, op. cit., p. 497 c.

3. Senik, op. cit., pp. 42-3.

4. Senik, p. 44.

pilgrimage to Mecca, upon which you have been so long absent. A suitable page out of the purganes of Hindustan will be assigned for your maintenance, the revenues of which shall be transmitted to you by your agent.¹

Nâsir-ud din received the royal will: "When Mir Akbar I had communicated this message to Khân-Khanân, he bowed abjectly, and having prostrated before the Mir, he left Mecca for Nagra. Upon reaching Nagra, he sent his banner, battle-drum and all other marks of nobility, to the Emperor by the hands of Husnâ Khân Beg. The surrender of the banner and the other marks of nobility grieved the Emperor.

"For Muhammad Khân Sarwat, whom the Khân-Khanân had banished from the country and sent to Mecca,² had waited in Gujarat for the proper season (of sailing). On hearing of the disgrace of the Khân-Khanân, he returned to Court with all possible speed. He met with a very generous reception, and was honoured with the title *Nâsir-i Jahân*, as well as with a banner and battle-drum. He was then sent with a horse to hasten Khân-Khanân's departure for Mecca (for to see Easterners phasing, "to push him off as quickly as possible in Mecca without giving him any time for delay,") and accordingly marched after him.

When Sultan Khân learned that Mir Muhammad had been sent to pursue him, this greatly annoyed and distressed him. Some emboldened persons, having found their opportunity, played upon the feelings of the Khân-Khanân, and leading him to ridiculous acts, he went towards the Panjâb. . . . On the Emperor being informed of Khân-Khanân's schemes, he dispatched . . . a body of soldiers to the Panjâb. . . . so that he was obliged to fight. . . . A sharp action ensued, with considerable loss to both sides, and Khân-Khanân being defeated, fled towards the Shâhî hills. The Emperor then himself marched to the Panjâb. . . . A party of adventurous soldiers dashed forward into the hill, and surrounding the place got many of the soldiers to the sword. Shâhî Husnâ Jahân was killed in the crisis. Then they brought his head into the presence of the Khân-Khanân, in a bowl of silver to be consumed, "This life of mine is not worth as much, that a man like this should be killed in my defence." Depressed and anxious, the Khân actually sent one of his eunuchs, Jamîl Khân, to the Emperor with this message: "I deeply regret my deeds, which have not been entirely under my own control; but if I am invested with the royal authority, I will throw the veil of oblivion over my misdeeds, and will permit repentance in your presence, and hope for your forgiveness."

When this message was brought to the ears of the Emperor, the recollection of all previous sins rose in his memory, and he gave orders that the Khân-Khanân should be brought into his presence. When the

1. E. & D. op. cit., V, p. 394.

2. For details of the circumstances under which Mir Muhammad was dismissed by Sultan Khân, see *Ibid.*, pp. 237-48.

Khalid bin al-Walid approached the royal presence, all the court and Akbar went out, by the Emperor's order, to meet him, and conducted him to the Emperor with every mark of honour. The Emperor received him with the most friendly grace and presented him with a splendid robe of honour. Two days afterwards, he gave him permission to depart on a pilgrimage to Mecca and the holy places. Khalid bin al-Walid with his people took the road to Gaza.¹

Babur Khan could not, however, pursue his journey to its close, for he was murdered at Pithor by an Afghan whose father had been killed at the battle of Mugham. "Some accounts say they plundered the equipment of the deceased," says Nizamu-d din. Babur Khan's body was picked up by some Jat who gave it a burial. His family with great difficulty managed to reach Ahmednagar. His little son, Akbaruddin, then only four years of age, was brought up at Akbar's Court, and lived to become Khalid bin al-Walid and one of the greatest nobles of the Empire.

"The story of the transaction leading up to the fall and death of Babur Khan," observes Smith, "bears an unpleasant taste.... Both Humayun and Akbar owed their recovery of the throne to Babur Khan, and the obligations of gratitude required that when the time came for Akbar to take the reins into his own hands the decision of his faithful chamberlain should be affected as gently as possible. But the many enemies of Babur Khan were not in a humour to make his work easy. If they could have had their way unobstructed, they would certainly have put him to death. The generosity of his reception after the failure of his rebellion, may be fairly attributed to young Akbar himself, who had had little to do with the previous transactions, for which Mirza Asafa was responsible, as her peregrinic Abul Fazl attests."²

(F) "Tut Panch Babur" (1555-1556)

"Akbar, shocked at the tragedy of Babur Khan," says Smith, "only to bring himself under the 'monstrous reproach' of eunuchs and women. He had yet another effort to make better: he bound himself and rose to the height of his essentially noble nature."³ Akbar was eighteen years of age, and it may not seem unlikely that he came under the influence of the "evil" even to a considerable extent.

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 284-85.

2. Smith, op. cit., pp. 474.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

but Saad's intention, is not to be accepted without careful scrutiny. He himself admits that Akbar's "exceptionally noble nature" asserted itself, and one who had acted with such determination in overthrowing a giant like Barman Khān, was not likely to put up, if at all, for long with "patriotic government of the worst kind."

We must now turn to his activities during the first four years after the fall of Barman Khān (1608-1612). At the end of this period he became completely his own master in every sense of the term.

The condition of this fertile plateau (north of the Vindhya range, between lat. 25°30' and 34°30', and

1. The Con- quest of Mithilā. long. 74°30' and 78°30') of Mithilā was "such as seemed to invite a war of conquest with good prospects of success." Shajhat or Shajghat Khān, who practically ruled it independently under Adāll Shāh Sāy, had died in the year of Akbar's accession (1555). "He was succeeded by his son Bāb Bakshid¹, son the Fātikh-i Aḥl, 'and when the Afghāns were scattered near Hindostān by the conquering Chagghatāi, Bāb Bakshid established himself as permanent ruler of Mithilā. When Bakshid Khān (Khān Zardār's brother) married against him, the affairs of Barman Khān seem to cross, and the campaign in Mithilā was stayed."

"Bāb Bakshid was," according to Makhmūd alā "the most accomplished man of his day in the sciences of war and in Shāhī song. He spent much of his time in the study of sciences and songs. It soon came to Bāb Bakshid's knowledge that Bāb Bakshid had given himself up to merrymaking and cared nothing for the country. Tyrannical and overbearing man had consequently oppressed the poor and hapless, and the peasantry and the people had been reduced to distress." "The honour of the Imperial throne incurred" continues the Fātikh-i Aḥl, "that this country should be again brought under its control and find peace and security" (over the plan of aggressive imperialism!).

"So Adham Khān (Mithilā Anagā's son), Mir Muhammad Khān (Barman Khān's enemy), and some other Aḥlī, were concerted to effect the conquest of that country. They actually marched thither, and when they came within ten kos of Srangghār (now in the Dewān State, Central India Agency), Bāb Bakshid, who was in that city, awoke from his slumber of neglect, and took up a

1 - E & D, op. cit., V, pp. 132-43.

position, which he lacked, two leagues from the city. . . . Adham Khân sent forward an advance force to the encampments which Bâz Bahâder had thrown up around his army. Bâz Bahâder then threw off his spurs, and marched out to give battle. But the Afghan robbers in his army were disaffected, and made their escape and he himself was obliged to take flight (1881) towards Khundûz and Badkubiz (Fard). Fîr-mâ, his favourite wife, who used to recite poetry,¹ among other verses and all her treasures left into the hands of the Imperial forces. As the fugitives were making off, a remnant of Bâz Bahâder's wounded Kap-mâd with a sword to prevent her falling into the hands of strangers; and when Adham Khân overtook her to his presence, she took poison and killed herself.

² Adham Khân wrote an account of the victory to the Emperor. He returned all the ladies and musicians and singers, but he sent some eunuchs, under charge of Sâdîk Khân, to Court. The restoration of the ladies and other spoils displeased the Emperor, and made him deem it necessary to proceed to Mîrân in person. On the 21st Shâ'ban, 998 H. (April 27, 1881) the Emperor left Aghrî and marched towards Mîrân. . . . Adham Khân now collected all his spoils, and presented them to the Emperor,³ who stayed a few days to stretch and enjoy himself, and then returned to Aghrî.⁴ At that place Pt. Muhammad Khân Sarwâl and other nobles who had sided in Mîrân, waited upon the Emperor. They were honoured with gifts of robes and horses, and were then sent back to their sights.⁵

After was not fully reconciled to Adham Khân. It was only

1. The success of Bâz Bahâder and Fîr-mâ, "recovered throughout the world her lost beauty and charm" are celebrated in many a song and refrain.

2. Abûl Fard says that Adham Khân was altogether amazed at the sudden appearance of the Emperor, who had marched so fast that he outstripped the messengers sent by William Asaga to warn him. He also describes how, after that Adham Khân was to give up the moon, and the singing and dancing girls of Bâz Bahâder. [After *Shâh* v. p. 174.]

3. After arrived in Aghrî on June 4, 1881, "after an absence of only thirty-eight days. After, who overcame Alexander the Great in his struggle of climatic conditions or physical obstacles, made his rapid journey in the height of the hot season."—Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

the intervention of the latter's mother, Mihman Asaga, that had modified him for the time being. In November 1861, Sharaf al din Muhammad Khān Agha, who came from Kābil, was entrusted with the management, in reality, of all affairs political, financial, and military; and perhaps on his advice, Adham Khān was recalled from Mīlēt. Mihman Asaga was opposed to Agha Khān's high appointment, and she was very much vexed to find, Agha fast slipping out of her control. But at the same time, it is strange that Mir Muhammad was allowed to succeed Adham Khān in the charge of Mīlēt; for both were equally unworthy. Both had been guilty of crimes in Mīlēt; but perhaps the guilt of the former weighed more with the Emperor for his misapprehension and even treacherous spirit.

Mir Muhammad, after his appointment in place of Adham Khān, assembled the forces of Mīlēt and marched to subdue the counties of Aḥr and Barchānpūr. He had hope to Bīlāgarh, the principal of all the fortresses of that country, which he took by storm, and put all the garrison to the sword. ("He next proceeded against Barchānpūr, and reduced it to the Imperial territories"—*Atish-e-Milān*, ii, p. 212.) He then marched against Aḥr, a well-known place in Khilāṣāt. Crossing the river Narbādā, he gave many of the towns and villages to the sword and destruction, and came to Barchānpūr. That city also he took by storm, and gave orders for a general massacre. Many of the learned men and saints of the place he caused to be decapitated in his presence. The governors of Aḥr and Barchānpūr, and Śāh Bahādur, who lived in that vicinity since his flight from Mīlēt, now concerned together, and assisted by all the nobles of the country they assembled a force with which they assailed Mir Muhammad Khān (as his men "were pursuing their robbing march homewards laden with spoil"—*Atish-e-Milān*, ii, p. 201). Unable to resist, Mir Muhammad fled towards Mīlēt, and when he came to the Narbādā ... he was thrown off (his horse) into the water and drowned, thus avenging the wrongs of his dead.

1. "On the day of the victory," according to Fardīnī, "the two captains standing on the spot, had the captives brought before them, and troop after troop of them put to death, so that their blood flowed river upon river." Mir Muhammad cried heartal jeh, and when remembrance was offered, replied,—"In one single night all these captives have been taken, what can be done with them?"

says the *Tarikh-i Akbari*. (Radcliff writes: 'By way of water he went to him and the sight of captives, poor wretches, and captives, added his business'—vol. II, p. 51.) 'The other nobles on reaching Mīrāt, found that the country was lost, so they pursued their course to the Court of the Emperor. Bīr Bahādur pursued them and brought the whole of Mīrāt once more into his power. The nobles who had abandoned Mīrāt and had come to Court without orders, were imprisoned for a time, and then set at liberty.

'Abdulla Khān Uzbek now received orders to retrieve that disaster in Mīrāt, and several other Khāns were directed to assist him. Towards the end of the year 969 H. (1562 A.D.) Abdulla and his associates entered Mīrāt, and Bīr Bahādur, being unable to withstand him, took to flight—to the hills of Kāshghar' (A.D.). A force was sent in pursuit, and coming up with the fugitives, killed many of them. Bīr Bahādur found protection for some time with Pīthā Udai Singh, one of the chief Rājās of Mīrāt, and afterwards he retired to Gurgāt, but eventually he threw himself upon the mercy of the Emperor, and sought a refuge from the frowns of fortune. (According to Radcliff, he was imprisoned for some time, but soon after his release he died; according to Faiz, he was granted a manat of 2,000.) Abdulla Khān remained at Mīrāt and the other nobles returned to their places.

In July 1564, Abdulla Khān showed signs of rebellion, and Akbar was obliged to march against him in person. Abdulla Khān was soon driven to the confines of Gurgāt, whence he made his way to Jaipur and died there during the rebellion of Khān Zaman, in 1565. 'The Imperial army then moved, and, on the eve moon of Zi'l hijja, 970 H., reached Mīrāt. The residents of the neighbourhood came in to pay their allegiance, and met with a gracious reception. Mir Mubarak Shāh, ruler of Khāndesh, sent a letter and suitable presents by the hands of ambassadors to the Emperor. After some days the ambassadors received permission to return, and a Jeweller was sent of Mirā Mubarak Shāh despatching him to send any one of his daughters who he thought worthy to attend upon the Emperor. When Mubarak Shāh received the gracious communications, he was greatly delighted, and he sent his daughter with a suitable retinue and paraphernalia to His Majesty, desiring it a great favour to be allowed to do so. . . . In Mafakharā, 972 H. (August 1564), the Imperial camp moved from Mīrāt. . . . Karā

Bahādur Khān was appointed governor of Mīrātī . . . Proceeding by way of Mīrātī and Gwalior, the Emperor reached Agra on the 3rd Rabi'ul-mawāl. In the course of this year, the Emperor had three sons to him, one of whom was named Hiran, the other Hiran; but they lived only a month.¹

We have noted how, after the death of Adāll, the eastern province of Jaunpūr was brought under the Empire, and Khān Zamīn was appointed its governor.

2. Khān Zamān's Conspiracy.

An attempt by Adāll's son to recover the province, we also saw, ended in failure. In July 1561, "various officers of Khān Zamān (All Khān Khān) excited a suspicion of his intention to rebel, so towards the close of the year, His Majesty proceeded towards Jaunpūr, on a purpose of hunting and pleasure. . . . When the Court reached Fāzīl, All Khān Khān and his brother Bahādur Khān came up by forced marches from their place of Jaunpūr, and on being received, they presented suitable offerings. Their fidelity and services being recognized, they received presents of horses and robes, and were then dismissed to their place. On the 17th 26-7 Rājā, of the sixth year of the 1185, corresponding with 968 H., (August 1563) the Court reached Agra.

"On the 16th Jamādī-ul-mawāl, 968 H., (January 1565) the

3. First Rajasthani Marriage and Alliance.

Emperor started to pay a visit to the tomb of Kathū-ul-Anīsā Khānīja Mawāl-dīn Chāhī (at Ajmer). When he reached the town of Sandhāt, Rājā Bihārī Māl (Rāchamāl), one

of the chief Rājās of that country, came with great loyalty and respect, along with his son Bhagatī Dās, to pay his services to His Majesty. He was received with great honour and attention, and his daughter, an honourable lady, was accepted by His Majesty, and took her place among the ladies of the Court.¹ From these he

1. Bihārī or Bihārī Māl or Biharmāl was the Rājā of Amber (Jaipur). His daughter became the mother of Akbar's successor Jahāngīr, and came to be known as Mārghīrāzādah. This marriage, according to Dr. Doon Prasad, "symbolised the dawn of a new era in Indian politics, it gave the country a line of inextinguishable sovereignty, it secured to four generations of Moghul Emperors the services of some of the greatest captains and diplomats that medieval India produced." Rājā Māl Singh was Biharmāl's grandson.

proceeded to Ajmer, and he dispersed many gifts and persons among the inhabitants of that noble city.

'Mirza Shams-ud din Husam, who held a *dar* in the territory of Ajmer, came to pay his homage. He was

1. Captain of and with several other amirs of that province of Marwar.

to effect the conquest of the fort of Marwar, about 20 *kos* from Ajmer, which was held by Jas Mai, the commander of Rāi Mithan. His Majesty then started for Ajmer, and making forced marches he performed the distance, one hundred and twenty *kos*, in a day and a night. (The *Tarikh-i Aḥ* gives the more probable time of three days.) . . . When the victorious army went to take possession of the fort Jas Mai marched out with his men. But Daulat, in shame and pride, set fire to the property which was in the fortress, and then called forth at the head of a party of Rājputs, and passed in front of the royal army. . . . Many of the royal soldiers fell, and nearly 200 Rājputs were slain. . . . The fort of Marwar was then occupied by the Imperial force.'

The *Tarikh-i Aḥ* give the following brief notice of an epic incident, belonging to this period (1564), con-

2. The *Ram Dar* Darbhanga concerning the conquest of Garha in the Jubbulpore District :—

'Khusra Akbar-i Maḥl, who had received the title of Asaf Khān,' was appointed governor of Kanur, and in that province he rendered good service. One of his services was the conquest of Garha, a territory abounding in hills and jungles, which had never been conquered by any ruler of Hindustān since the rise of the faith of Islām. At the time it was governed by a woman called Rājai (Rajpūt), and all the dogs (?) of that country were very faithful and devoted to her. Asaf Khān had frequently sent emissaries into her country on various pretences, and when he had learnt all the circumstances and possibilities of the country, and the position and resources of the Rājai, he led an army to conquer the country. The Rājai came forth to battle with nearly 500 elephants and 25,000 horse. The armies met and both did their best. An arrow struck the Rājai, who was in front of her husband, and when that noble woman saw that she must be taken prisoner, she seized a dagger

1. This was Asaf Khān I, later as the reign there were two others with the same title. For his biography see Blochmann, *As.*, i, pp. 368-69.

from her elephant-driver and plunged it into her stomach, and so died. And Khon gained the victory, and stopped the advance at the village of Chauragach, where the treasures of the rulers of Cachar were kept. The son of the King shot himself up in the list, but it was taken the same day, and the youth was trampled to death by horses. So much plunder as jewels, gold, silver, and other things was taken, that it was impossible to compute even the tenth part of it. Out of all the plunder, And Khon sent only fifteen elephants to Court, and retained all the rest for himself.¹

Goahwa formed the northern part of the present Central Provinces. The fact of Chauragach is now in the Nagpur District. When it fell into And Khon's hands, its treasures contained, besides those mentioned above, 'coral and uncoloured gold, decorated vessels, pearls, figures, pictures, jewelled and decorated idols, figures of animals made wholly of gold, and other rarities.' "The sum was said to include a hundred large pots full of the gold outside of Akka-din Khân."²

The gallant queen had, fifteen years previously, become the regent for her minor son, Sir Marham. Although the King had not attained manhood, she continued to exercise all authority. "The Nijai was a princess of the famous Chandol dynasty of Malabar, which had been one of the great powers of India five hundred years earlier. Her impoverished father had been obliged to lower his pride and give his daughter to the wealthy Good King, who was far inferior in social position. She proved herself worthy of her noble ancestry, and governed her adopted country with courage and capacity, 'doing great things', as Alfred Russel remarks, 'by dint of her far-seeing abilities. She had great contests with Sir Balidder and the Malhis, and was always victorious. She had 20,000 good country with her in her battles and 1,000 famous elephants. The treasures of the Nijai of that country fell into her hands. She was a good shot with the gun and arrow, and continually went a-hunting and shot animals of the chase with her gun. It was her custom that when she heard that a tiger had made his appearance, she did not drink water till she had shot him.' Acher's attack on a person of a character so noble," observes Smith, "was more aggression, wholly unprovoked and devoid of all justification other than the lust for

¹ E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 165. There are differences regarding details in other accounts.

conquest and plunder". And Khin intoxicated with success, in the manner of Asham Khin in Mihel, evidently thought of establishing himself independently; but Akbar, in this instance for some reason or other, 'winked at his treachery,' and delivered the settlement of accounts.

We might also fill period (2560-64) with an account of two incidents which threw more light upon Akbar's independent character, and notion of independence, than any reflections of his traits who spun exclusively over the malign influence of the 'murderous regiment of women' and the 'petulant government' over the youthful Emperor.

A tragical event occurred in the course of this year (May 16, 1561), wrote Nizām-d dīn. "Asham Khin Kokaltash, son of Mihel Anaga, could not endure to see the elevation of his competitors in the presumption of youth and pride of wealth and station, he yielded to the incitement of Shāhīn-d dīn Ahmad Khān, Master Khin Khin-Mihel, and several other nobles, and murdered Khin-i Anam (Shāhīn-d dīn Muhammad Anag), then Prime-Minister, as he was sitting in his public office. Then, trusting to the favour and kindness which had been shown to him by the Emperor, he went and stood at the door of the Azena. His Majesty rushed out of the Azena, sword in hand, and the assassin was bound hand and foot and cast over the parapet for his crime. . . . All those who had taken part in the conspiracy fled, and hid themselves through fear of punishment. . . . His Majesty showed great solicitude for the sons of the deceased minister, and for Mihel Anaga; but the latter, in anger and in grief for her son, fell ill and died forty days afterwards."

The other incident was also of a similar character. The same writer records: "Khwāja Malikam was maternal uncle of the Emperor. . . . This person had been guilty of several disgraceful actions during the reign of the Emperor Humsāyān. . . . His unbecoming conduct at length compelled the Emperor to banish him. . . . After his banishment the Khwāja stayed for a while at Gajdāt, but subsequently returned to the Court of the Emperor. Bairam Khān then counter-acted him, and he received some degree of attention. Upon the dis-

1. Smith, op. cit., pp. 66-71.

grace of Sultan Kâim, the Emperor took compassion on the Khedive and gave him some aid. But the Khedive's perverse and evil nature got the better of him, and he was guilty of some disgraceful deeds. To mention one: There was a woman named Fatma, attached to the harem of the late Emperor, and the Khedive had taken to himself a daughter of hers named Zâhir Agâ. After some time he formed the design of putting her to death. Upon her mother being informed of this fact, she hastened to make it known to the Emperor, and to crave his protection. The Emperor was just about to start on a hunting expedition, and he ordered the poor mother that he would take measures to rescue her daughter from the Khedive. Accordingly he sent Taher Muhammad Kâim Mir-i Panjshir and Basham Kâim to give the Khedive notice that the Emperor was about to visit him. When Taher Muhammad reached his house, he was so enraged, that he killed the poor woman. As soon as the Emperor arrived, and was informed of the Khedive's cruel act, which cried for punishment, he gave orders to his followers to well thrash him, and then to put him in a boat and send him several times in the river. After this he sent him a prisoner to the fort of Gâzîk, where he died in confinement. Although un-
 muzzled several times, he would not drown, and whenever he came up he shouted the Emperor. He died mean. (*Abdur-Râhmân*, ii, p. 276)

What *Spencer* observes with regard to the latter incident, is equally true of both. He says, "The punishment inflicted on him proved definitely that Abder was not to be deterred by family influence from doing justice on evil-doers, after the rough and ready manner of the times. The precedent may be taken as marking the date of Abder's final emancipation from the control of a palace dispute. He continued to show all proper respect to his mother, *but he did not allow her to control his policy, which was governed on principles alienated to her.*"

(2) REBELLIONS: EAST AND WEST

The principal rebellions of this period were two: That of Isma'il Muhammad Hâdim, Abder's half-brother, at Kâbil, and that of Kâim Zâhid at Jâzâir. They were interconnected in so far as

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 277-8

the one sympathized with the other, and built his hopes of success on simultaneous action.

The first attempt of Mirza Salimullah of Badkhashan on Kābul has already been described. When Mirza Mirza

The Kābul Ex- (Mirza Muhammad Haidar's guardian) left Kābul to visit the Court of the Emperor, Muhammad Khan

Adilshah was left there as governor, but on Mirza Khan being informed of his ill-treatment of the people of Kābul, he removed him from office, and appointed his own son, Ghazi Khan, in his place. . . . After a time, Mirza Chodak Begum (Haidar's widow) and the people of Kābul were greatly distressed by the proceedings of Ghazi. . . . Sometime afterwards Ghazi they went out one day for a stroll in the melon-gardens, and the opportunity was seized by the mother of Mirza Muhammad Haidar, in concert with Shah Wali Allah. . . . to enter the fort and close the gates against Ghazi Khan. On returning and finding the gates of the fortress closed, Ghazi Khan understood that the people had revolted against him. Unable to do anything, he went off to the Imperial Court. The mother of the Prince then took the direction of affairs into her own hands. . . . When the report of these occurrences reached the Emperor, he appointed Mirza Kāfir governor of Kābul and guardian (amir) of the young Prince Mirza Muhammad (who was only ten years of age). The mother of the Prince assembled all the forces she could, and telling the Prince with her, she went, with the intention of crossing by force of arms, to JALALABAD, known in old times by the name of Jand. There she visited Mirza Khan who quickly marched against her, and defeated and scattered her forces at the first attack. After this he returned to Court. The Begum returned to Kābul. . . .

After some time, Abdul Mirza, who had evidently escaped from Bayana and gone on pilgrimage, returned from Mecca, and in concert with Mirza Shams-ud-din, the Jigirdar of Nagar and Ajala, rebelled and made towards Kābul. 'The Imperial forces invaded Ajala, . . . and then hastened in pursuit of the rebels. When Abdul Mirza . . . found that the royal army was coming up in pursuit of him, he was dismayed, and turning aside from the direct road he fled towards Kābul. When he approached Kābul, he wrote a letter full of affection and devotion for the late Emperor, and sent it to Mirza Chodak Begum (the Emperor's widow). She sent to invite him in, and received him with honors. She also gave him her daughter in marriage. Abdul Mirza now pointed himself forward, and took the direction of the establishment of Prince Muhammad Haidar.

'A party of malcontents, who were displeased with the treatment they received from Mirza Chodak Begum, persuaded him that matters would never go on well so long as the Begum lived. He fell in with their views, and slew the unfortunate woman with a dagger. Then he got into hands the Prince Muhammad Haidar, who was of tender age, and took the direction of the government. . . . Mirza Muhammad Haidar sent a person to Mirza Salimullah, asking upon him for assistance. . . . The

Mirza, hearing of the state of affairs, marched against Kāshān. Both sides drew up their forces, and the battle began. Three days later, he sent Abul Mirza, with his hands bound behind his neck, to Mirza Muhammad Hakim, and he ordered him to be strangled as punishment of his crime. This happened on the night of the 12th Rabi-ul Awwal 1009 H. (April 1640).

Mirza Salim was sent to Kashghar by his daughter and married her to Muhammad Hakim. After giving gifts to the Mirza territory to many of his followers, and appointing Usrah Ali, who was in his confidence as the post of minister, he returned to Kashghar.

Mirza Muhammad Hakim and his people being greatly annoyed by these Kashgharites, drove them out of Kāshān. Mirza Salim then came again with a large army to take revenge for this expulsion. Hakim fled to Farkhar, and appealed for Akbar's help; when the ministers of Mirza Muhammad Hakim reached the Imperial Court, an order was given directing all the nobles and dignitaries of the Panjāb to assemble their forces and march to the assistance of Mirza Muhammad Hakim.

Mirza Salim, on the approach of the royal forces fled to Kashghar.

Mirza Salim, for a fourth time avoided Mirza Abul Hakim once more sought refuge in flight, and again appealed to Akbar. The Emperor this time appointed Farkhan Khan, maternal uncle of the Mirza and a noble of the Imperial Court, to go to his assistance. He now sent Khush-Khshar Khan, one of the royal household, with many, goods of Kashghar, and a horse and saddle, to the Mirza, and he wrote a letter, in which he said that if the Mirza required assistance, he would send the nobles of the Panjāb to support him.

When Khush-Khshar Khan approached the camp, the Mirza welcomed out with due ceremony and respect to receive the letter. After the arrival of Khush-Khshar Khan, Farkhan laboured to convince the Mirza to battle strongly, representing that it would be easy for him to effect the conquest of Lahore. Kashghar having been ravaged upon, he tried to persuade the Mirza to leave Khush-Khshar Khan. But although the Mirza had been led away by his foolish persuasions, he was too sensible to consent to the departure of Khush-Khshar Khan, so he united the Khan to his persons warmly, and sent him away. Salim Ali, a clerk who had fled from the Court, and Hasan Khan, brother of Shikāh-din Ahmad Khan who was at Kāshān, helped to excite the hands again and added their voices to Farkhan's.

Run over by their persuasions, the Mirza broke into open revolt, and marched against Lahore. Upon coming into the neighbourhood of the city, he began to plunder. Some of the nobles of the Panjāb, hearing of these proceedings, assembled at Lahore. They looked to the safety of the fort, and were so occupied of the Mirza's violence and hostile acts to the Emperor. On arriving near Lahore, the Mirza advanced to the foot of the fortifications; but the nobles of the Panjāb repelled him with the fire of their guns and muskets. At length, when intelligence came of

the advances of the royal forces, the rebels, being unable to offer any more, took to flight.

We have already mentioned the obstinate conduct of this rebelman and his brother, Baburur Koko, and their submission at the Emperor's approach in August 1661.

Koko Zandé's
Rebellion

They again rebelled early in 1665. In 1667, Akbar was obliged to take the field in person, and crossed the Jambé. In December, 1666, Koko Zandé gave an undertaking not to quit the Gambia, and Akbar came back in April or March 1666. Many

times Mirat Muhammad Hakan avoided the Fantijs under the dream stories described above. 'He was encouraged by the Ulugh relations to claim the throne of Kintakala, and Koko Zandé went on far as to refer the matter, or proper for the King, in his name'. Akbar set forth against his brother in November 1666; but when he heard of his delay and flight, he returned to Biliver where he heard of the rebellion of the Minis (February 1667). The Minis, having first broken out at Sambrak, near Mbarikéla, where they had been granted estates, had been driven into Mbariké. In May 1667, Akbar had once more to march against Koko Zandé who had broken his pledged word, to support him loyally. The details of these events are given us, both by 'Muhammad Ali in the *Futuh-é Akbari*'.

'In consequence of the severe proceedings against Abdalla Koko Zandé, which have been narrated above (viz., his expulsion from Mbariké on account of his rebellious attitude), an opinion got abroad that the Emperor had a bad opinion of the Ulughis. The dissatisfied nobles, among whom was Ibrahim Koko the uncle of Koko Zandé, 'resolved to consult Ali Kuli Koko (Koko Zandé), who was one of their own tribe, and was the Emperor's representative in their part of the country.... After consultation... they determined to rebel.... Ibrahim Koko and Sander Koko went to Ladawa, full of hostile designs. Koko Zandé and his brother went to Kanti Mbarikéla, and there began their revolt.

'Ali Koko and Majoila Koko (who was the *ghazdar* in that quarter) took a bold course, and went forth to confirm the rebels, and sent a report to the Emperor of the position. When the statements of the rebels reached the Emperor he resolved to punish these attempts. He ordered Mirat Koko Kintakala to march in advance with a strong force, and come over the river at Kanku, to keep the enemy in check. He himself remained behind a few days to collect and organize his forces. In the month of Shawwal he crossed over the Jambé, and marched to chastise the rebels.... On Friday, the 12th Zi-1 day, the royal forces entered the citadel of Jambé. Orders were given to Ali Koko and other nobles to come over the Gambia at the ferry of Natcha, where Ali Koko and his followers had passed, and then to go to confront the rebels and act according to circumstances.

Between Kishikikuan (who succeeded to the command of the Imperial army) and Kishu Tashin there was an old and warm friendship, and when they were thus opposed to each other, a compromise was agreed, and it was agreed that Kishu Tashin should wait upon Kishu Kishikui to discuss the terms of peace. The negotiations lasted on for four or five months and warlike operations were suspended.

After a long discussion it was determined that Kishu Tashin should send his mother, All Kishu, and Kishu Kishu his uncle, to the Court of the Emperor, to ask pardon for his offence. Upon receiving instructions the Kishu and his brother and Kishu Kishu were to go to Court.

Kishu Kishu, with bowed head, and with a sword and shield upon his back, stepped forward, and Kishikikuan extended his hands . . . and he trusted that the boundless mercy and kindness of His Majesty would look with an eye of tenderness upon the heads of such sinful servants . . . The Emperor, out of the kindness that he felt for Kishu Kishu, said, "For your sake, I forgive their offences, but I am not satisfied that they will remain faithful" . . .

The Emperor then went to visit the fort of Chushu, celebrated for its height and strength. He made three days' march from Jauphi to Chushu, and there camped several days. From thence he went to the fortress and having surveyed it, he ordered it to be repaired and strengthened . . . (Kishu, who had agreed to restore the signs of the over-strict notice, explained: "So long as I remain in this neighbourhood they must not come over the river. When I return to the capital, they must send their walls there, and besides for their signs shall then be struck, under which they may take possession.") But when the Emperor had gone to Chushu, Kishu Tashin crossed the river, and went to Moku-mukidai, one of the dependencies of Jauphi, and from thence sent parties of troops to occupy Chikuphi and Jauphi.

As soon as the Emperor returned to his camp, he was informed of this and proceeding of All Kishu Kishu's, and he said reproachfully to Kishu Kishikui, "No wonder that I let this place than All Kishu Kishu know the weakness of his position." Kishu Kishikui looked mortified, and endeavored to make excuses.

Orders were given to Ashu Kishu his father to go to Jauphi, and make prisoner the mother of All Kishu Kishu, who was at that city, and to confine her in the fort of Jauphi. He was also to secure every rebel he could lay hold of. The Emperor himself, with a considerable force, started off upon a rapid march against All Kishu Kishu. . . . The force under the Emperor occupied the bank of the river Saru (Saru), and after waiting at the jangle they found that Kishu Tashin had gone off to the Sivik hills. News now arrived that Kishu Kishu had gone to Jauphi, and liberated his mother. He made Ashu Kishu prisoner, and formed the design of making no attack upon the great camp. Upon hearing that the Emperor gave up the chase of Kishu Tashin, and turned towards Jauphi . . . when he ordered a pleasant site to be selected, and a splendid palace to be built . . . and the soldiers also were to build suitable houses and places suitable to their rank. For it was determined that so long as All

That Khin and his brother should remain in the world, Jaengar should be the capital of the State. The royal forces were sent in pursuit of the fugitives, with instructions to take no rest until they had inflicted the punishment due to them.

When All Khat heard of this he left the Simla hills whether he had fled, and came to the side of the Ganges. Then he sent a faithful follower to Court with a message. Khin himself made such noble representations for Khin Zambh, and the Emperor in his great kindness was more pardoned his offences. Then as recovered, he expressed availing to his father, took an oath of fidelity, and made his vassals loyal. The Emperor's opponents having repented of their ungrateful deeds and made their submission, he returned to the capital in the beginning of the 11th year of the reign, 973 B. (15th March, 1564).

The Emperor's mind being now relieved from all anxiety in respect of All Khat Khin and other rebels, Mirat Khan

And Khin
September

Khin, one of the old nobles of the Imperial household, was sent with 1,000 or 4,000 men to Garha to

suppress the rebels of that country, and to capture And Khin. (During the campaign against Khin Zambh he had suddenly absconded, being afraid that he should be called on to render the account of his ill-gotten wealth from Chauragah). Before Mirat Khan Khin arrived, And Khin quitted the fort of Chauragah, and went off into the jungle. He wrote a letter full of humility and repentance, to the Emperor asking pardon for to go on pilgrimages. Mirat Khan on arriving in Garha, secured all the country, and went in pursuit of And Khin, who then wrote letters to Khin Zambh, proposing to go and join him. Khin Zambh wrote in reply, advising him to come to him. And Khin, deceived by this, went to Jaengar, but at the very first audience he beheld the avengance of Khin Zambh, and was sorry that he had come. (Then after some admissions he went to the Emperor, when he was at Lilahar in pursuit of Mirat Muhammad Khin, and received pardon for his offences.)

During the stay at Lilahar (also, a letter arrived from Agri, from

March of the
Mirat

Mirat Khinabek, with the intelligence that the sons of Muhammad Solikh Mirat and Ulagh Mirat,

by name Ibrahim Husan Mirat, Muhammad Husan Mirat, and Solik Mirat, who held places in the service of Samikhat had broken out in rebellion. And when he, Khinabek, had married a

These Mirats were Akbar's distant cousins whose forebears had received favour at the hands of both Akbar and Humayun. To every one of them Akbar gave notable gifts, and advanced them to the dignity of euns. They were constantly in attendance upon His Majesty, rendering their services. When the Emperor returned from his jungle campaigns, they appeared to their places, and remained at Samikhat. But when His Majesty went to Lilahar, to repress the attempt of Mirat Muhammad Khin, they broke out in rebellion.' (R. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 215-16.)

for in Delhi to punish them, they had heard of his approach, and had gone off towards Minli.

—A command was given that Asaf Khan, along with Munshi Khin (who had once previously visited Khatu Bakhsh, Khin Zandah, should go to Karamkhalaka, and provide for the Fani Begs, who were of the dependent territories. Intelligence was received that Ali Kuli Khan, Subadar of Khatu and Shander Khan had upon broken their engagements and risen in rebellion and raised the standard to be read in the name of Mirza Muhammad Hakim—44th Akbar A. 3571. Hereupon the Emperor placed these rebel Mirza Hakim Khan in custody of Khatu Bakhsh Khan, and leaving the direction of the affairs of the Punjab in the charge of Mirza Muhammad Khin and all the Akhs on the 25th Shawa 974 H. (22nd March 1671), he started on his return to Agra.

Upon arriving at Agra, the Emperor was informed that Khatu Zandah was besieging the fort of Shargah, four days distant from Kanauj. Thence days afterwards, the emperor left Khatu Bakhsh in charge of the city, and on Monday, the 12th Shawal, 974 H. marched towards Jaunpur. When he reached the Jergana of Sahel, Ali Kuli Khan accompanied to his brother, who was in Sahelpur. When he reached the Jergana of Ali Bakhsh, he heard that the rebels had crossed the river Ganges with the object of proceeding towards Khatu (Akhbar-Nama says Ghatik). He then directed his camp to proceed to the fort of Karti, and then marched with all possible speed to the city of Sahelpur. (There had been heavy rains; the country was flooded and the river much swollen.—Akbar-Nama, A. p. 358.) Then he crossed the river upon the back of an elephant, and from 1,500 to 1,800 men crossed the river along with him. Asaf Khan and Mirza Khin, who were in advance, constantly sent back intelligence of the camp. It so happened that Ali Kuli Khan had occupied themselves all that night in wine-drinking and dissipation, and were heedless of everything else. The warlike demonstrations against them they attributed to the daring of Mirza Khin, and would not believe that the Emperor was near at hand.

On Sunday, the 1st Jy. 974, the Emperor made his disposition for action. He himself took command of the centre. Asaf Khan and all the Akhs were on right; Munshi Khin and other Akhs were on the left. The camp, being now fully aware of the Emperor's approach, prepared themselves for death. They drew out their horses and sent a body of men to oppose the advanced guard of the Emperor. As the battle grew hot, the Emperor alighted from his elephant (Bakharat) and mounted a horse. Then he ordered the elephants to be driven against the lines of Ali Kuli Khan. There was among them an elephant named Hissar, and when he approached the ranks of the enemy, they let loose against him an elephant called Bheem, but Hissar gave him such a butt, that he fell upon the spot. Ali Kuli Khan received a wound from an arrow, and while he was engaged in drawing it out, another arrow

struck his horse. The animal became restless, and *Alai Kuli Khan* also was thrown. An elephant named *Shanung* then came up and was about to crush him when *Alai Kuli Khan* cried out to the driver, "I am a great man, if you take me alive to the Emperor, he will reward you." The driver paid an heed to his words, but drove the animal over him, and crushed him under foot. When the field was cleared of the enemy, *Nang Bahadur* placed *Bahadur Khan* behind him on a horse, and conducted him to the presence of the Emperor. By the effects of the injury he was put to death. After a little while, the head of *Alai Kuli* (*Khan Zauky*) was also brought. The Emperor then signified from his horse and captured thanks for his victory. This battle was fought at the village of *Machmaral*, one of the dependencies of *Jen Pravia*, now known as *Mach-Mal*, on the 1st *Shi* *Sya*, 104 H.

"He then proceeded to *Bedina*. Every follower of *Alai Kuli Khan* who came forward and was submissive to the Emperor's power was pardoned. From *Bedina* he went to *Jaurah*, and remained there days in sight of that city. Thence proceeding to the *Kayit Mlindokir* between he rested there and sent word to *Mosim Khan*. The *Khal-Khinda*, when he came, waited upon His Majesty, and was invested with the title and Government of the *Shayr* of *Alai Kuli Khan* and *Bahadur Khan* in *Jaurah*, *Bedina*, the fort of *Chaur* and *Lambaina*, as far as the fort of *Chaur*. He also received the present of a splendid robe, and of a horse. In the midst of the rainy season in 104 *Sya*, 104 H., the Emperor began his homeward march, and in *Mikharis*, 105, arrived at *Agli*."

(b) Conquest of *Bilgramina*.

"In September 1557 *Akbar* resolved on the most famous and tragically interesting of his martial enterprises, the siege and capture of *Chitor*, which deserves narration in exceptional detail," observes Smith.¹ The reasons for the undertaking are variously stated; the *Shah* had given shelter to *Bibi Rukhsar* after her flight from *Milind*, he had assisted the rebellious *Milind*, he had not gone forward, like the ruler of *Amber* (*Dhair Mal*), to offer his submission or a princess of the blood royal in marriage to the Emperor, etc., etc. But the fact is, as *Liberus Praed* points out, "There could be no Indian Empire without the *Rajputs*, no moral or political system without their intelligent and active co-operation. The conquest of *Milind* was therefore part of a larger enterprise, and the Emperor intended to treat it as a stepping-stone to his further conquest of the whole of *Hindustan*."² "Akbar being determined to become the undisputed

1. *ibid.*, p. 81.

2. *A Short History of Indian State in India*, pp. 265, 264-5.

ed master of all Northern India, could not break the independence of a chief who was 'proud of his steep mountains and strong walls and turned away the head of obedience from the sublime court.'¹ Chitor had already come into the Imperial net; the fall of Chitor was followed by the surrender of Ranthambhor, Kalinjar, Jodhpur, Raidur, and Jodhpur.

It is well to recollect here also that Rani Sangi, too, in the field of battle, had died about the same time as her conqueror Babur, in 1520, that her successor in war had called upon Humayun for succour when Chitor was being attacked by Buladur Shah of Gujarat, in 1534; and that proud and haughty Chitor had been prostrate and imposed before the adventurous Alphonso, Sher Shah in 1540. "It was the ill fate of Meerut to be cursed with a crown prince (Uda Singh) at the critical moment when India was ruled by the ablest, and perhaps the most ambitious, sovereigns who has ever reigned her sceptre. 'Uda Singh' fell with us, 'had not one quality of a sovereign, and wanting martial virtues, the common heritage of his race, he was destitute of all' The historians of the Rajputs justly declare that 'well had it been for Meerut had the pointed helmeted its attention, and had the sword never recorded the name of Uda Singh in the catalogue of the princes.'"

'Now that the Emperor had returned to the capital, with his mind at rest in respect of all Koli Rana and other re-

1. The Siege of Jodhpur writes Nizam-ud din, 'he turned his attention towards the capture of Chitor'. On his way thither, the Emperor deemed it necessary to suppress the Mirath, who had fled from Samthal and taken refuge in these parts. 'He therefore appointed Nizam-ud din Ahmad Khan and other amirs to fight at Mirath, and charged them with that duty. When the amirs reached Udaipur, which is one of the chief places in that country, they found that the Mirath, on hearing of the Emperor's approach, had assembled together and fled to Gujarat. So the amirs obtained possession of Mirath without opposition.

'When the Emperor marched from Gujarat, Bhat Uda Singh left 1500 or 2000 men to hold Chitor, under the command of a Rajput named Jai Mal, a valiant chief, who had fought against Mirza Shad-ud din Humayun in the hot of Mehar, as before related. The Rani, alarmed, with all her relatives and dependants, took refuge in the hills and jungles, — and soon built for herself a new capital at Udaipur.

1. Smith op. cit., p. 82.

2. Ibid., pp. 82-4.

"The fort of Chitor is situated on a hill, which is about one *dur* in height, and has no connexion with any other hill. The length of the *dyura* is three *has*. It contains plenty of running water. Under Raja Majindaj's orders, the ground round the fort was partitioned out among the different *seenas*. The royal forces were ordered to plunder and lay waste the country, and Asad Khan was sent to Rampoer (about 50 miles southwest of Chitor), a proprietary town of the province. He attacked and captured the fort and ravages all the neighbourhood. Husain Shah Khin was sent with a detachment towards Udaipur and Bikaner (24 miles northwest of Udaipur), which is one of the chief fortresses in that country, and in the residence of the Rani. He ravaged several towns and villages, but finding no trace of the Rani, he returned to the Imperial camp.

"When the siege of Chitor had been started in June, some the Emperor ordered the construction of *salab*¹ and the digging of mines. About 5000 *haddies* and carpenters and stone-masons were collected and began their work of constructing salabs on two sides of the fort. While the salab was in course of construction, the garrison kept up such a fire of guns and muskets, that more than 500 of the workmen and labourers employed in it were killed daily, although they covered themselves with shields of bull-hide. Carpenters were used in the work by *hades*. In a short time the salab was completed, and carried close to the fort. The miners also started their mines in the face of the walls, and having constructed mines under two bastions which were near together, they filled them with gunpowder. A party of men of well-known bravery fully armed and equipped approached the bastions ready to rush into the fort as soon as a breach was made by the explosion of the mines. Fire was applied to both mines at the same time, but the match of one was shorter than the other, and that made the explosion first. The bastion was blown into the air, and a large breach was effected. The storming party at once rushed to the breach, and were about to enter, when the second mine exploded and the bastion was blown up. Friends and foes who were standing in the breach, were hurled into the air together, and those also on whom the stones fell perished. It is notorious that stones of 200 *mans* were carried to a distance of three or four *has* from the walls, and also bodies of men who had been hurled were found. Many families of the and a great number of the Emperor's attendants were slain, and nearly 500

1. "A salab is a kind of wall which is begun at a considerable distance from the fort, and under the shelter of its planks strongly fastened together and covered with raw hides, a kind of way (*hadda*) is conducted to the bastion. The walls are then battered from it with guns, and a breach being made, the brave warriors rush into the fort. The salab which was constructed from the royal battery (*maushah-ghatshah*) was so extensive that two *haddies* almost could walk along it, and it was so high that an elephant riding with his spear in his hand could pass under it."—E. & D. *op. cit.*, V. p. 526.

prisoners were killed in places from the states. A large number are at the military hospital.

After this disaster, the pride and intrepidity of the Burmese became still more intense upon the reduction of the fortress. A order which had been laid down in the history of Shwazi Kinta was now completed. On the night of Tuesday, 22nd October 1875, the Imperial forces sustained their last and the well being benefited, a great struggle began. In the morning, the Burmese, came into the breach to encourage his men. The Emperor was seated in a gallery, which had been erected for him on the wall, and he had a musket in his hand. The fate of the day was determined by the fight, which was cast upon the spot by the fire of the guns and muskets. The Emperor took aim at him, and so wounded him that he died on the spot. The garden was destroyed by the fall of their leader, and each man hurried to his own home. They collected their wives and children, property and effects, in one place and burnt them. This proceeding in the language of the soldiers of Kinta, is called *pyaw*. The royal forces were now moved, and they marched the frontier in several places. Many of the soldiers rushed forward to defend them, and fought more valiantly. His Majesty, seated in the wall, beheld the valorous of his men with an approving eye. Aul Mahamad Kungahid, and others exhibited great valour and daring, and received great praise. All that night fighting went on, but in the morning, which was a glorious morning, the place was subdued. The Emperor mounted on an elephant, and, attended by his devoted followers on foot, entered the fortress. An order for a general massacre was issued, and more than 4,000 Burmese who were in the place received the reward of their death. After noon the daughter was seized, and the Emperor returned to his camp, where he remained three days. Raul Kinta was appointed to rule that country, and His Majesty started for the capital on

1. Among the heroic incidents that followed the death of In Min was the fall of Peta, a hill of 14 summits, but he was married, and "lost my" self comparisons varying for one disaster than himself might die the hero of Kinta." For another among the young lords with a lance, with his descended the rock, and the defenders of Chatur saw her fall, fighting by the side of her Amazonian mother. When their wives and daughters performed such heroic deeds the Burmese became restless of life. Peta fell fighting being crushed to death by an elephant. In the name of the war there was a breach of life in him, but, he shortly afterwards died. After nobly commemorated his appreciation of these heroic acts by erecting in his palace-garden five statues in honour of In Min and Peta. "One of the facts gratifying to national vanity, which helped to feed the animosity of the Burmese heart," says Smith, "was the erection of five statues in honour of In Min and Peta, the defenders of Chatur."

—After p. 93-4

Tuesday, the 24th October.)

"When the Emperor started to effect the conquest of China, he vowed that if he were permitted, he would make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Kwan-shan, ancestor of the Ch'ing, which is at Agner. In performance of this vow, he set off for Agner, and walked all the way on foot. On Sunday, the 7th January, he reached Agner. He performed all the observances of the pilgrimage, and made the gate and army glad with his deeds and offerings. He remained there ten days, and then departed for the capital. (He reached April in March, 1586.)

After a stay of some months in Agner, the Emperor resolved to attack the fort of Rasmantshoo,¹ renowned as one of

2. Rasmantshoo: the strongest and highest fortress of Hindustan.

An order was issued for the assembling of those troops which had not been engaged in the siege of China. When the order had reached several stages, intelligence reached the Emperor of disturbances created by the Mirda, who had escaped from Gajali, and had camped in the fort of Ujain, in Mirda. The Emperor then directed that Kaila Kila with the order and the army that had been sent to Rasmantshoo should undertake the repression of the revolt of the Mirda.

The two armies moved according to the order. . . . The army had now grown very large. When the Mirda were apprised of its approach, they raised the siege of Ujain, and went off towards Mirda. . . . All marched together in pursuit of the Mirda, who fled before them from Mirda to the banks of the Narabai. They crossed the river in such confusion, that many of their men were drowned. . . . The Mirda then fled to Gajali. . . . The remainder of this transaction will be told in its proper place. . . .

'The Emperor marched at the opening of the year (12nd Feb. 1586) towards Rasmantshoo, and in a short period arrived at the foot of the fort. The place was fortified, batteries raised, walls constructed, and several breaches were effected by battering with cannon. Mir Iskan, the commander of the fort, when he observed the progress of the siege, was brought down from the pinnacle of his pride and exultance and he sent out his two sons, Dada and Bhai by name, to ask for terms. His Majesty received kindly the two young men, who had come to seek his mercy and pardoned their transgressions. He sent Miran Kail Kila, who had received

1. "A curious incident in this siege was this. A person was sitting near the bottom of the anchor of this tank, under the shelter of a tree, with his right hand placed upon his knee. As an opportunity presented itself he raised his thumb, covered with the stuff usually worn by soldiers, and just at the moment a gun was fired from the fortress and the ball passed within the length of a barley-corn from his thumb and did him no harm."—*Kullu-shah al-Ahsan, Tabaqat-i Akbari*, (E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 322).

2. San Rasmantshoojapore is now in the SE corner of the Jaipur State, a few miles from the Rajasthani border, and about 240 miles NE from China.

the rule of Kikō Jōshū into the lot to give succor to Kikō Jōshū. He did so and brought the Kō to wait upon the Emperor when he made a brief retirement, and was exalted among the royal servants.¹

This is a strong fortress, and every former fortress had been subjected to taking it. Since Kikō Jōshū (Shō Shō) besieged it for a year, but was killed in the attempt to take it. During the inter-reigns of the Aikō, Fuji Kōm Chōshō had purchased the lot at a high price from Kikō Jōshū. The seizure of the conquest of the lot of Chō and Eastern Shō spread through the world, and the men of the Imperial army who held Kō in the neighborhood of Kikō Jōshū were constantly looking place for the capture of that lot, and were anxious to begin the war. Kō Jōshū was an experienced and prudent man, and considered himself an adherent of the Imperial throne. He sent by his envoy the lots of the fortress and suitable offerings, with congratulations for the victory achieved, to the Emperor. On the same day the custody of the fortress was given into the charge of Majōin Kō, one of the Right-hand of the quarter, and a steady force was sent to Kō Jōshū. The fortress came into the possession of the Emperor in the month of Sō, 107 H., in the fourteenth year of his reign.²

1. According to other accounts, Kō Jōshū of Kōshū and Kō Jōshū used their influence to 'make Kōshū Han (Kōshū) follow to his pledge'—'to hold the castle as a lot of Chō'—The professed lot was indeed magnificent—the government of 12 districts, whose revenues were to be appropriated without ceasing, on furnishing the necessary contingent, and liberty to name any other name, which should be solemnly guaranteed by the King' (Smith, op. cit., pp. 18-9.)

2. Abū-i Padī's rhetorical flourish about the conquest of this fortress is typical of his manner:—'When the report of the capture of Chō and Kōshū was received in the ears of the heavenly court, every one whose eyes had been as a mirror looked by the collision of understanding saw that there was no remedy except to lay down the burden of preemption on the ground of submission. Kō Jōshū, who possessed acute rays of intelligence, heard of the arrival of the holy empire at the capital and asked for quarter. He made over the lot to the Imperial servants and sent the lots along with splendid presents by considered agents to the various threshold, and offered his congratulations on the recent victory. The wisdom and strength were approved of, and his agents were received with favour. The government of the lot was made over to Majōin Kō Kōshū. By this victory of the Chōshū's fortress such a fortress, upon whose battlements the eagle of the Imperial nation of former rulers had never lighted, came into the possession of the Imperial servants without the trouble of a battle or contest.' (*Abū-i Padī*, ii p. 429.)

"When the Emperor was staying at Nagpur, Chander Sen son of Rai Maldev, came to pay his allegiance and make his obeisance."

4. *Jodhpur and offshoots*.—Rajp Kalyan Mal, the Raja of Jodhpur, also came with his son, Bili Singh, to wait upon His Majesty, and present his tribute. The loyalty and sincerity of both father and son being rewarded, the Emperor married Kalyan Mal's daughter. For fifty days he shed the light of his presence and equity upon the poor people of Nagpur. From thence he proceeded to Ajmer, to pay a visit to the tomb of Shahid Farid-ud-din Marat Gang-i-Shahid. Rai Kalyan Mal, who was so hot that he could not ride on horseback, now received permission to return to Bikaner, but his son was ordered to remain in attendance upon His Majesty in which he received high promotion."

These campaigns by no means completed the reduction of Rajpootana. A still more arduous war continued to be waged against the atrevid Raja Pradip who had the courage never to submit or yield. But

there was a respite of about seven years, from August 1559 to July 1566, before the "word of Allah" again struck the Hindu with his own hand. Meanwhile it is worthwhile noting some of some of the outstanding features and results of these early efforts. Whatever might have been Akbar's motives in the conquest, he had scored and taken Mairath, "the second city in Mairath"; Rajp Bhairud of Amber had "anticipated the King, mutilated himself and his son Bhagvindhia amongst his vassals, given the Chaghatai a daughter to wife and held his country as a fief of the Empire." Moss had been subdued once. The proud Rajp had been driven to seek refuge in the hills. Chitor had been taken so also Bantamthor and Nalagar. Jodhpur and Bikaner too had submitted, at least for the time being. Tod characterises these events with the following observation:—

"Akbar was the real founder of the Empire of the Moguls, the first successful conqueror of Rajput independence; to this his virtues were powerful auxiliaries, as by his skill in the analysis of the mind and its weakest stimulus to action, he was enabled to guide the chains with which he bound them. To these they became familiarised by habit, especially when the throne carried on power it acts gratifying to national vanity, or even as ministering to more ignoble passions. But generations of the martial race were cut off by his sword, and hence ruled away are his conquests were sufficiently confirmed....He was long ruled with Shahrudin, Alludin, and other instruments of destruction, and with every just claim, like them he constructed a *Musaka* (palace) for the *Kirita* from, the

altars of Idings; yet he finally succeeded in healing wounds his ambition had inflicted, and secured from children that most of grace, which no other of his race ever obtained."¹

Akbar came into contact with three distinct types of Shajpas: (1) those like Arbir that easily interested, and were readily assimilated into the Imperial system; (2) those that put up a decent fight or came to an honourable settlement with the conqueror, like Pantachbar; and (3) those that refused to be overruled, and sought refuge either in flight or persistent fight, like the Bils of Mawar. The first two by their submission showed a spirit of compromise and assimilation which was quite necessary in the building up of a united nation towards which Akbar was leading the whole might of his genius; the last, by its sterner hatred, unconquerable pride and courage never to submit or yield, consolidated its own quota to the strength and nobility of our national character. The treaty that was drawn up between Akbar and the Bils is noteworthy for its dignified relationship:—

The *Amnāh of Bils* accorded—"A treaty was drawn up on the spot, and mediated by the Prince of Arbir (Jaspur), which presents a good picture of Hind's feeling. They were (1) that the chiefs of Bils should be exempted from that custom, degrading to a Shajpa, of sending a slave (bride) to the royal harem, (2) exemption from the jaze or poll-tax; (3) that the chiefs of Bils should not be compelled to wear the Attach; (4) that the vassals of Bils should be exempted from the obligation of sending female relatives "to hold a stall in the Mins house" at the palace, on the festival of Mawar (New Year's Day); (5) that they should have the privilege of entering the *Durbar-khāna*, or "Hall of Audience" completely armed; (6) that their sacred offices should be respected; (7) that they should never be placed under the command of a Hind's leader; (8) that their horses should not be branded with the Imperial *dhīp* (a flower intended on the forehead); (9) that they should be allowed to bear their noblemen, or *barāh-dars*, in the streets of the capital as far as the *128 Darsāh* or Red Gate; (10) that they should not be commanded to make the "prostration" (*sajda*) on entering the presence; and (11) that Bils should be to the Hils what Delhi was to the King, who should guarantee them from any change of capital."²

¹ Tod, *Asiatic Researches*, I, p. 328.

² Cited by Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

But, as related above, "the most famous and tragically interesting" of Akbar's martial enterprises, viz., the destruction of Chitor which was "marked by the memory of eight centuries of heroic deeds and heartrending tragedy, wounded deeply the Rajput soul. The place became sacred, and to this day no successor of Uday Singh would dare to set foot within the limits of the once sacred stronghold of his ancestors. The 'sin of the slaughter of Chitor' like the 'curse of Cromwell' in Ireland, has become proverbial, and the memory of it is kept alive, or was so kept a hundred years ago by a curious custom. It is said that Akbar estimated the total of the Rajput dead by collecting and weighing the 'Bishmarwal woth' (jower or jawar), which it is the privilege and obligation of high caste men to wear. The recorded amount was 74½ mace of about eight pounds each. [To preserve the memory of this disaster the maceable 74½ are still or assumed. Marked on the banner: later in Rājasthān it is the strongest of mace, for "the sin of the slaughter of Chitor" is thereby invoked on all who violate a letter under the safeguard of this mysterious number!]. The watch of the conqueror fell upon what Tod calls the 'symbols of royalty' as well as the persons of the vanquished. The gates of the fortress were taken off their hinges and removed to Agra. The well-known, or huge ironedowns, eight or ten feet in diameter, the superfluities of which had been wont to proclaim 'for miles around the entrance and exit of her prisons,' as well as the massive candlesticks from the shrine of the 'Great Mother,' who had girt Bīrprīyā Bārdi with the sword by which Chitor was won, were also taken away. . . . The moment Bīrprīyā Uday Singh (who had fled to the Aravallis at Akbar's approach, and founded there his new capital of Udaypūr) died at Gogfandī in the Aravalli hills, four years after the storm of the fortress which he should have defended in person. His valiant successor, Bīrprīyā Prithī Singh (about whom later), waged a long war with Akbar, and gradually recovered much of Mīrwar. But Chitor remained desolate."¹

(i) CONQUEST OF GOGANATH

The rich produce of Gogjanath had been won, and lost by Humāyūn, and Akbar could therefore put forth some legitimate claim for its

1. Hall, op. 302. Read "Chitor and Its Siege", by R. R. Hilder in *Indian Antiquary*, August 1882.

conquest. "The possession of numerous ports and the resulting extensive maritime commerce made Gujarat the richest kingdom in India. Ahmadshah, the emperor, was partly reputed to be one of the finest cities in the world, while the manufacture of silk, cloth, paper, and other commodities flourished in many locations." The confusion into which Gujarat fell soon after the death of Bahadur Shah has already been hinted at. "In the Court of the Emperor," wrote Nizam-ud din "conversation continually turned upon the state of affairs in Gujarat, and information was often brought about the oppressions and afflictions of its petty rulers, and about the ruin of its towns and cities." Now that His Majesty's mind was quite set at rest by the suppression of rebels, and the reduction of their lofty forts, he turned his attention to the conquest of Gujarat.¹

Akbar marched out from his capital on 4th July 1572, and, proceeding, enjoying the chase on his way, to Ajmer.² He also visited the tombs of some of the sultans, "and glorified the beauty of the shrines and attendants with his manifold gifts." Then he sent Mirza Muhammad Khan Akbar, "better known by the title of Khizr Malik," with 10,000 horse in advance. The Emperor himself marched via Nagpur, Mandla, and Sirsa, and sent one of his officers, to make sure of the territory of Jodhpur, and keep the road to Gujarat open, so that some of the Raths might be able to collect any tax. This duty was assigned upon Kh Singh Bhatnagar, who was sent with a strong force of Imperial troops. *Fatawa* were issued written to the rulers and rajas of that province desiring them to render Kh Singh every assistance he might require.

"The Emperor... arrived in Pilna, and resided there for a week.

1. Ahmadshah. The government of the empire was debilitated upon Sayyid Ahmad Khan Ratha, a man of courage and resolution, who had numerous friends and allies among the Rajputs of Hindustan. At this last Khiz Khan Singh returned, bringing as a large booty, which he had taken from the remnants of the Afghans. The Emperor then marched towards Ahmadshah. Now Khan Fakhir had been engaged for six months besieging Ahmadshah, which was held by Ismail Khan ("The able and prime minister of Sultan Muhammad Gujarat,"

1. "The country was at that time without a central government being divided into seven warring principalities, over which the nominal King, Shamsuddin Salim III, a prince of dissolute legitimacy, exercised little authority. Such a condition of affairs seemed almost to demand the intervention of a power capable of restoring order. Akbar, in fact, was actually invited by one of the local princes named Ismail. Khizr to put an end to the prevailing anarchy." (Smith, op. cit., p. 170.)

when he heard of the Emperor's approach, he took to flight. The Emperor had hardly advanced two stages from Pithor, when Sultan Miran, son of Sultan Mahmud Gajdar, whom Ikbal Khan had kept continually in subjection, came with a great display of respect to meet the Emperor.

The next day, Ikbal Khan, the ruler of Ahmedabad, and others came and shook of Gajdar, too numerous to mention, came in to meet upon the Emperor and make their offerings. Ikbal Khan presented the keys of Ahmedabad and showed every sign of submission. The officers of the Court were suspicious of evil designs on the part of the *Mahals* (Meyanans), and brought the matter to the notice of His Majesty, and although he seemed to act generously and royally towards them as a precaution he committed them to the charge of some of his attendants. The Emperor then marched on, and on Friday, 14th Rajah pitched his camp on the banks of the river of Ahmedabad (Ghahmadi). The shahar was used in the name of the Emperor and all the people of the city and environs came to offer congratulations and thanksgivings.

¹ Besides Feroz Miran and Muhammad Hamid Miran held Baram,

2. **Cashmir.** Baram, and Sarai in defiance of the Emperor. So he resolved to free the country of Gajdar from their rebellious power. On Monday, 2nd Shatwan he started from the river at Ahmedabad, and marched towards Cashmir. Ikbal Khan and other Gajdaris who were, at the request of some of the great officials, allowed to remain behind in Ahmedabad for a few days to arrange their affairs. Seizing this opportunity, Miran Mahmud made one of the chief nobles of Gajdar, that from Ahmedabad to Ahmadnagar. As no refuge could be placed on the sides of Gajdar, Ikbal Khan was given leave the custody of Ibrahim Khan Miran. On the 6th the Emperor reached Cashmir. He went to look at the sea, and leaving Cashmir on the 12th, he reached Baram on the 14th. After reflecting upon the best means of governing and governing the country of Gajdar, he appointed Miran Asir Muhammad Khatun the *Khalid* deem, to be the governor of the country, and steward of its capital Ahmedabad.² Here it is worthy to note that while at Cashmir, for the first time, Akbar received a body of Portuguese merchants who came to pay their respects and then made his first acquaintance with the Christians, which event was fraught with great consequences in the future.

² After the departure of Asir Khan, the Emperor determined upon attacking the fortress of Sarai which was the head

3. **Baram** of and stronghold of the Miran. To effect this purpose

he sent Sayad Mahmud Khan Baram, Raja Bhagwan Das, Kaurar Man Singh, and several others to overpower Miran Miran, who was in Baram. Next day, 11th Shatwan, when one watch of the night was passed, intelligence was brought in that Ibrahim Khan Miran, having heard of Akbar's advance had murdered Rajah Khan Baram (who was desirous of returning to his daughter—*Chand-Nam*), and then left the town, intending to pass about eight or de-

came from the Emperor's camp, and to three detachments and villages elsewhere.

Hearing of this the Emperor's wrath was kindled. . . . The remainder of the night and the greater part of the next day, he kept up the pursuit for a long distance. When night came on, he arrived with forty horsemen on the banks of the river Wukunda. Hoshio Hamao Miki was in the town of Samai, on the other side of the river. There they heard that the Emperor's followers endeavored to conceal themselves. Kan-wei Mui, Sayh, at his own suggestion, was placed in command of the advanced guard. Although the whole of his followers did not number more than 100 men, the Emperor without hesitation, determined to attack. They dashed into the river and crossed over. Every man of the Imperial force fought desperately, and killed a great many of the enemy. Bokan, son of Raji Bhai Mai, a very brave young man, made a charge upon the enemy, and fell. Emboldened by his fall, the enemy renewed his attack. But the royal forces were in a position of spot, where these horsemen could not pass straight, as it was helped in with thorns. The Emperor led with great courage, gave to the front, and Raji Bhagula Dhi had kept with him. Those of the enemy's horsemen now charged them and one of them attacked the King. As his adversary was entangled among the thorns, Raji Bhagula Dhi hurled his spear at him, so that he withdrew. The other two assaulted His Majesty, who rescued them as valiantly that they were obliged to retire off.

The royal forces, seeing the danger in which the Emperor had been placed, were roused to desperation, and made a fierce onslaught upon the enemy. Hoshio Hamao Miki was distinguished and took to flight.

The Emperor went into the town of Samai, and offered thanks for his victory. Every man who served in this engagement received his reward in increased rank and in gifts. . . . On Wednesday, the 14th October . . . the Emperor rejoined his camp at Basohi. Next day he ordered a banner and a kettledrum on Raji Bhagula Dhi, who had so greatly distinguished himself in this action.

The fortress of Sami is small, but exceedingly strong and secure, and remarkable among fortresses. It is said that a

4. Sami

slave of Salla Mahanta Gaudeti, who received the title of Khadwant Khia, built this fortress on the sea-shore (really on the bank of the river Tapa, 20 miles from the sea), in the year 1627 B., in order to resist the attacks of the Europeans, but before the fort was built the Europeans did all kinds of mischief to the inhabitants. When Khadwant was engaged in the erection of the fort, the Europeans several times tried out ships to attack it but could not succeed in this object. . . . On the two sides of the fort which faces the land, he formed ditches reaching to the water, which were 30 yards wide, and filled with water. They were built of stone, shingles, and burnt bricks. The thickness of the double walls is five yards, and height twenty yards. . . . It is a remarkable circumstance that each stone is firmly fastened to the next with clamps of iron, having neither lead poured into the interstices.

The bastlements and embrasures are formed of stone and are formidable to look at. On the top of the tower there is a circularish ditch, on the opposite of Rangpur, is an extension of the Portuguese. When the Europeans were unable to prevent the entrance of this fortress by force of arms they offered large sums of money to prevent the raising of this structure. But Khudivand, in contempt of the Europeans, rejected their application and raised the structure.

When the Emperor returned from Samat to Karnal, he renewed his design of conquering Surat. The Emperor sent Bih Tadar Mal to evacuate and evacuate promptly the soldiers and soldiers of the fortress. After a week, he returned and made his report. His Majesty, relying on the help of the Almighty Jah Panth and encouraged at a distance of a few days from Surat on the 15th Rabi-ul. On the same night he was up and recommenced the fort. He distributed the bastions among the soldiers, and three days afterwards he moved his camp, and pitched his tent so near the fortress that cannon shot and musket balls could reach it.

The siege was pressed on, and in a short time the way for drawing water was closed. After it had gone on for two months the besiegers advanced their bastions, so that every way of ingress and egress was closed. Every hole big enough for a mouse was closed. The miners pushed their mines under the bastions, and made such progress that the capture of the place was a mere matter of to-day or to-morrow. When the garrison perceived the state of affairs, they were reduced to the greatest alarm and distress. The wretched dilapidated Ham-ul-ah and all the people in the fort sent out Mulla Muhammad Ali Lari, who was a stout and an eloquent man, to sue for quarter. His Majesty, in his goodness and humanity, granted the petition. Lari returned to the fortress with the glad news of quarter having been conceded. A royal order was then issued for Khair Ali Khair to proceed into the fortress with the Mulla, to give quarters to the men of the garrison and to bring them out with him. An order was also given for a party of trustworthy dacoits to be sent in to search upon all property, fire-arms and dead-stock, and take care that nothing was lost. The names of all the people in the place were written down, and the list was presented to the Emperor. In gratitude for the victory, the Emperor pardoned the common people and inhabitants of the place, but Ham-ul-ah and some others, who were the instigators of all the evils, were punished and kept in custody. This conquest was effected on the 15th Shawwal in the year 980 H. (The siege having lasted one month and seventeen days.)—1666 Feb. 1673

While the Emperor was engaged in the siege of Surat several events occurred. Among them was the journey of Ibrahim

3. Miran.

Humayun Miran to Hindustan, for the purpose of raising disturbances. After his defeat at Samat, Ibrahim fled to the neighbourhood of Miran, where he joined Muhammad Humayun Miran and Shah Miran and informed them of his escape, and of the siege of Samat. After consultation it was resolved that Ibrahim should go into Hindustan and create disturbances, while the other two Mirans held siege to [Pur]

their reputation being that the Emperor, on receiving intelligence of their proceedings, would abandon the siege of Suat, and fall back upon Ahmedabad to repulse these two nations.

They invaded Ploas. Sayid Ahmed Khan Barha (the present) put the fort in order, and shut himself up. He sent an account of the movement to the Emperor, who, on hearing it, issued orders... to repulse the rebellious attempt. The soldiers accordingly joined Asam Khan and marched to Ploas. The Miran fell upon the advance and defeated it.

When Asam Khan saw the defeat of his right and left, and the fall of Muhammad Bahadur, he resolved to make a bold attempt to retrieve matters, and to dash into the fight. When the enemy's men disposed in words of pleasure, and there remained but a few in arms, Asam Khan formed his ranks and fell upon the enemy's centre. By God's help, victory declared in their favour, and the foe was scattered on every side.

Muhammad Husain Miran fled to the Dakhn. This victory was won on the 19th Rabi-ul, 998.

In March, 1578, the Emperor arrived at Ahmedabad and there he entrusted the government of Gujarat to Khidr Khan (Jahid Khan). On the 10th Zil-hijja, the 15th day, he commenced his journey to the capital. On his way Muhammad Khan (Jahid Khan of Gujarat) received the Imperial bounty. The nobles of Sirangpur and Ujjain in letters were taken from the King and granted to him, with fifty two of nobles in Ajmer. At one stage from Ajmer, the Emperor received the communication from Asam Khan, the governor of Malabar, to inform him of the death of Farid Husain Miran. On the 12th Muharram 998, on the sixteenth year of the reign, the Emperor paid a visit to the tomb of Khidr Khan at the Chitral, and observed the usual ceremonies, and bestowed his customary gifts. He remained there a week, and every morning and evening paid a visit to the tomb, showing much attention to all the observances.

"When the Emperor returned from Gujarat, there remained no resistance in that country, all the forts were in the hands

of his servants, and each of his troops as had not stayed in the campaign were sent to strengthen

Asam Khan. But he had hardly been six months in his capital, when news of their overthrow came in some other time, and Asam Khan himself wrote for reinforcements.

"The rebels, having assembled round Shihabuddin got possession of Ahmednagar and the surrounding territory. Muhammad Husain Miran left the Dakhn with the intention of stamping the rebellion of Surtu Kaly Khan, who was deputy of the fort, made it secure, and prepared for a siege. Shihabuddin Miran gave up the project and made a rapid march upon Candhar. (On his way he got possession of Bhorach.) Husain Khan Fakhruddin (Shihabuddin) being unable to make any resistance, fled to Ahmedabad. At length the Miran was worried, and had to pay Shihabuddin Miran. Asam Khan, who had marched against Shihabuddin Miran, took a position near Ahmednagar. He several times attacked him,

and fighting went on for several days between Akhundzada and Mir Sah and his followers. . . .

'Khivaya! Shah, Muhammad Hassan Mirak, and the other men grew, got together a force of 20,000 men—Afghans, Gupshahs, Hazaras, Afghans, and Sogdians—around Ahmadzadeh. The Shah of Herat also kept up a correspondence with them. . . . Khivai knew daily sent all despatches to the Emperor, asking for help. The Emperor therefore resolved once more to raise his banner in Gopesh, to clear the country of the rebels, and to open their families. . . . In the early morning of Sunday (14th July a/c 1311, 1911), the Emperor with his consorts and attendants proceeded south (he means) and took their departure. On that day he rode to the town of Tola (about 75 miles W. by S. from Ajmer) without drawing rein. There he ate what he could get, and rode on. On Tuesday, he reached the town of Chokel at Ajmer (14th July, a/c 1311 miles). There he was, through the usual observances and bestowed his gifts upon the poor.

'Although the horsemen under his colours were only 2000 in number, and the army had more than 20,000, he put his trust in God, and in the latter part of the day marched from Shalika towards Ahmadzadeh. A messenger was sent to apprise Khivai of his approach. He marched all night, and on Tuesday, 14th Jemad-ul-awwal, he reached Karl, a town 20 hrs from Ahmadzadeh. The scouts now brought in the intelligence that a large force of the enemy had come out of the fort to give battle. Orders were accordingly given to attack them and drive them from the road but not to incur any embarrassment by attacking the fort. This was accomplished in the twinkling of an eye, and those of the enemy who escaped the sword, threw themselves into the fort. And Khivai was sent to Khana Khan to inform him of the proximity of the Emperor and directing him to effect a surrender. Then, in some days, the Emperor marched from Pathana to the suburbs of Ahmadzadeh, a feat which it is difficult for the pen to describe.'

It was now discovered that the enemy, drunk with wine, were asleep on the bank of heretofore, naïve warriors of the approach of the royal army. The feeling ran through the royal ranks that it was necessary to fall upon

an enemy unwarned, and that they would wait till he was roused. When the blast of the trumpets was heard, the camp, amazed and alarmed, rushed to their horses. . . . The Emperor perceived some signs of weakness in the Afghan force, so he gave the word, and charged the enemy for a fierce fight. Another body of the forces came up and joined them in the dark. Muhammad Hassan Mirak and Shah Mirak struggled manfully, but at last succumbed, as they turned and fled. Muhammad Hassan Mirak had received a wound, and in his haste to make his escape, he put his horse at a trot, but the animal fell. One of the royal troops, threw himself from his horse and made him prisoner. . . . Victory was declared half on every side, and His Majesty returned triumphant to his camp, which was placed at the edge of the battle-field, and there he

offered up his thanks for the victory won on the 22d (Sept. 2, 1821).

Cade Ali Badakhshi and a servant of the Khan-i Idar were brought to the emperor. Muhammad Husain Mirza a prisoner, such being done in the honour of capturing him. Bala Bakhshi asked him who made him prisoner, and he replied, "Ingratitude to His Majesty," and he spoke the truth.¹ Both Husain Mirza and Bala Bakhshi were executed. Then the Emperor ordered that a pyre should be raised of the heads of the rebels who had fallen in the battle, and there were more than 5,000 in number. After that he proceeded into Akhundkhan, and accepted the royal stores which were in the market. The men of the city of all ranks turned upon him with their offerings and congratulations.... His first act was to see that all those who had rendered good service in this campaign should receive their due reward in advanced rank and increased allowances. Eminent scholars were employed to write descriptions of the victory, and the heads of Muhammad Husain Mirza and Bala Bakhshi were sent to be hung up over the gates of Ajl and Farappa.²

This sharp action broke the back of the rebellion in Gujarat.

Having accomplished this, he appointed Khatib-

5. Final settle-
ment of Gujarat.

alla Muhammad Khan and Harnam Khan to Broach and Chhapra, to assert the power of Shah Mirza yet remaining to be subdued. Raja Bhagwan Das, Shah Kuli Mahram, and several others were sent to Idar, to ravage the country which Mirza Ulm Singh had abandoned. The government of Poon was again confided to Khatai Khan. Khwaja Chhapra-alla Ali Bakhshi, who had rendered good service in this campaign, received the title of Asaf Khan (II), and he was appointed *Shah* and *Jahangir* of Gujarat. So he remained belied with Khatai-Allah, who was entrusted with the full charge of the province as before. The Emperor left Akhundkhan on Sunday, 15th Jamadi-ul-awwal, "he was back in Farappa-Said within forty-three days from the time he had ridden out. Considering the distance travelled, Akbar's record of Gujarat expeditions may be described safely as the quickest campaign on record. The victor, upon his homeward journey, was

1 His original name was Bahadur Dill, and he was, according to Badakhshi, "a hard who was distinguished above all his comrades for his skill in celebrating the achievements of great men, and he used to make excellent Hindi verses. He was some years in the service of the Emperor, and was admitted among the number of his private attendants, when he received the title of *Kutub Khan*, chief of poets."—Later, "the Emperor, having given to Shah Mirza the title of *Khatib Bakhshi*, bestowed upon him the country of Nagpur."—E. & G., op cit., V, p. 222

His capital, on Monday, October 5, 1803".¹

"The revenues of Gujarat had not been paid up satisfactorily," says Nicholson *ibid.*, "so the Nizam (Tadar Mili) was sent to apportion and settle the debts, and draw up an account of them for the royal exchequer." This capable officer, about whom we shall learn more later, "effected the rearrangement of the greater part of the lands in the short space of six months. The provinces so reorganised, yielded more than five millions of rupees annually to the Emperor's private treasury, after the expenses of the administration had been defrayed. The work so well begun by Nizam Tadar Mili was continued by another severe expert, Shakh-i-din Ahmad Khan, who was viceroy from 1807 to 1808 or 1809. He rearranged the *nikāhs* or administrative districts, so that sixteen were included in the province. The campaign of 1803 was final, although disturbances continued to occur. Gujarat remained under the government of the Imperial viceroys until 1808, when Ahmadshah was definitely taken by the Mahdists. . . . Akbar's system of administration may be said to have been definitely planned in 1803 and 1804, immediately after the conquest of Gujarat".²

(c) Conquest of Bengal and Bihar

Bihar and Bengal had been overrun by the Mughals, but not wholly subdued. Nadirshah had occupied Gaur, the capital of Bengal, for a short period, but he was immediately driven out by the Afghans. The Sikhs had established their sovereignty up to the borders of Assam. "Salimshah Khatib, one of the amirs of Bahadur Shah, and ruler of Bengal and Bihar, who had always in his letters acknowledged himself a vassal of the Imperial throne died while the Emperor was engaged in his Surat campaign, in the year 1111 H.³ His eldest son Baysund succeeded, but he was murdered by the amir ("in consequence of his evil conduct."—Baird⁴ ii p. 173), and the province was raised to the throne.

"The Emperor was informed that Bihār had dropped out of his proper sphere, and assumed the title of King, and through his course

¹ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 109-21.

³ The correct year of his death, according to Smith, is 1105 (1692), as in Baird, i, 108, not 1111 (1697) as above. Salimshah's death seems to have been "much regretted by his subjects, and he was highly respected by all his contemporaries."—*Ibid.*, p. 104.

tamper had destroyed the fort of Patna, which Khan Feroz built when he was ruler of Jaunpur.¹ A jansam was immediately sent to Kaka Khinda directing him to chastise Dhill, and to reconquer the country of Bihar.

At that time Dhill was at Bhilpur, and his chief mate, Loh, who was in open hostility to him, was at the fort of

1. Pal of Pandit
and Bhilpur.

Benin, and set up a claim to independence. Kaka Khinda Mamon Kaka marched with the Imperial

forces against Pandit and Bhilpur. Loh, knowing the destruction of the Alliance to be certain, notwithstanding his hostility towards Dhill, made a pact of peace with Kaka Khinda. The old brooding and respect which Kaka-Khinda had for the late Salimkhan Khatib led him to agree that, upon the payment of two lacs of rupees in money and one lac in stuffs as a tribute, the Imperial forces should be withdrawn. Then having sent Jaid Kaka Khat, he moved into a pincer with Dhill.

But Dhill was a decisive man, and knew nothing of the business of governing. At the suggestion of Kaka Khat and Saldhar Bhagil Bhagil, and through his own want of judgment, he asked Loh his Armed men (pinner minister), and put him in command under the charge of Saldhar Bhagil. When in prison, Loh sent for Kaka and Saldhar, and sent Dhill this message: "If you consider my death to be for the welfare of the country, put your mind quickly at ease about it, but you will be very sorry for it after I am dead. You have never given me any good wishes or advice, but still I am willing to advise you. Act upon my counsel, for it will be for your good: After I am killed, fight the Mughals without hesitation, that you may gain the victory. If you do not do so, the Mughals will attack you, and you will not be able to help yourself. Do not be too sure about the peace with the Mughals, they are only biding their time." Then the power of Dhill and of all the Rajas was on the wane: it was God's will that they should fall, and that the power of the Emperor should be established over the country of Bengal. So Dhill resolved to put Loh out of the way, and by so doing to establish his authority to his satisfaction. So, in the pride and intoxication of youth, he listened to the words of his sinister counsellors. The doomed victim was put to death, and Dhill became the master of his elephants, his treasure and his troops. But he was pulled up with consent and pity, and came to prominence for conducting his enemies, and relying upon that unsatisfactory power which Loh had established, he furnished all care.

When the death of Loh was reported to Khan Bhagil, he at once set his heart upon the conquest of Bengal and Lakshmana and marched against Patna and Bhilpur. The Rajas, when he heard of this, de-

1. Dhill sent himself in possession of no less than 40,000 silver-ware, 100,000 silver, 30,000 guns of various calibres, 1,000 elephants, and several hundred war-horses—a force which seemed sufficient justification for a contest with Akbar.—Ed.

remained personally to direct the operations. After resting for a few days at Pathpur, he sent off his camp and elephants by land under the command of Mirza Yusuf Khán Khán, one of his chief aides. He placed Ágha as charge of Sháhid-dín Áhmed Khán Níshápurí, and embarked on board a boat on Sunday, the last day of Rajab, 982 B. (1574 A.D. 1574). The boats carried all his equipments and establishments, armour, drugs, treasure, carpets, bedchambers, and so on. Two large boats were specially prepared for his own accommodations, in which he embarked with his attendants. The boats required by the order for themselves and their establishments were in the rear of the royal boats. Every day he left the boat and went hunting in deer.¹ In the evening they camped ashore, and the Emperor engaged in domestic sports, science and poetry, etc.—*Ishárat*, ii, p. 129.² Every day he was joined by fresh parties of troops.

On the 20th he reached Kásh, a dependency of Jaunpur, at the confluence of the Ghágra and Ganges, and there anchored. Here he was visited again by Mirza Yusuf Khán, who had brought down the army by land.

On the 22nd Bábar came he reached a village near Jaunpur. Here a despatch arrived from Khán-i-Khásh, urging him to march on with all speed. So on the 23rd he departed on his campaign against Bengal. On the 25th the boats fell down the Ghágra to the Ganges, and Mirza Yusuf Khán, the commander of the army, landed on the Majesty. It was now arranged that the army should keep within sight of the royal flotilla.

Khán-i-Khásh and the other rulers advanced two days from Patil to meet the Emperor, who on the 26th reached his destination, and took up his residence in the tents of Khán-i-Khásh. Great rejoicings followed, and rich offerings were made. On the 17th Bábar held a council of war. He thought that the best course to follow was to first reduce the fort of Háipátr (which stood opposite Patil, with the Ganges, about two kos in width, flowing between them—*Áfshar-Náma*, ii, p. 71), which rendered very material assistance to the garrison of Patil. The Kháns greatly applauded this scheme.

Yusuf now declared in favour of the Emperor. Fakh Khán Bábar, commander of Háipátr, and many Afgháns were slain, and the place fell into the hands of the Mughals. The head of Fakh Khán Bábar, and the heads of the other Afgháns were thrown into boats, and sent to Dául, that he might see with his own eyes, what had befallen his officers, and might be led to reflect upon his own position. When Dául's eyes fell upon these heads, he was plunged into despondency, and set his mind upon flight. Sháhír Bughlá, who was Dául's great supporter, and to whom he had given the title of Níshá Báharáit, placed his valisees and treasure in a boat and followed him.

Late at night, when the flight of Dául was reported, the Emperor gave thanks to heaven, and so went as it was light, Khán-i-Khásh having assumed command of the fleet, the royal boats crossed the city with great display. Fifty-six elephants, which the enemy had been unable to carry off, were found in the city and presented before the Majesty. The date of the fall of Patil, which was indeed the conquest of Bengal, is fixed in this line,

¹ *Makhlús Saláman as Bábar* (ed.) "1902."

Shirazi here relates, "The capture of so great a city in the middle of the winter season was an almost unprecedented achievement and a painful sacrifice to the Bengali prince. He had returned to Akbar following the great old Indian custom of waiting until the Durrani festival in October to begin a campaign. But Akbar resembled his prototype, Alexander of Macedon, in his complete disregard of adverse weather conditions, and so was able to win victories in defence of the Delawar and the snows."¹

The Emperor remained in the city till four hours of the day had passed, and having made a proclamation of amnesty to the rebels, he left Khair-Abidin as commandant of the army, while he himself dashed off in person to Gajar Kila (Dild's village).

When he reached the Punglin River near Patna, he went over on horseback, and the nobles and soldiers followed his example. Then he gave orders for every man and officer to gaze on each of his flags in the pursuit of the enemy, and he himself spurred forward. The Emperor stayed at Daryapur six days. He appointed Khair-Abidin to the government of Bengal, and left him an additional force of 50,000 horse. He increased his military allowance 25 or 30 per cent. He gave him all the boats which he had brought down from Agil, and invested him with full power and authority. Then he raised the standard of return, and dismissed Khair-Abidin and other nobles.

The Emperor remained at Jaulpuri thirty-three days, devoting his time to making arrangements for the army and the government of the country. He placed Jaulpuri, Benares, the fort of Chanderi, and sundry other nobles and persons directly under the royal entourage, and he gave the management of them to Mirza Mirza Razi and Shakh Nishtar Mir.

When Dild fled from Patna, he went to Gadh. Leaving some trusty men there, he proceeded to the town of Tanda. He made such efforts to strengthen the fort of Gadh that in his view it was impregnable. Khair-Abidin marched against Tanda, and arrived near Gadh. (He had already made himself master of Singpur, Monger, and Daryapur Akbar-Nama vi, p. 14.) As soon as the eyes of the terrified Afghans fell upon his army, they fled and abandoned the fort, so that he obtained possession of Gadh without striking a blow. This intelligence greatly pleased the Emperor, and he sent letters of commendation to Khair-Abidin and the other nobles. Continuing his journey, and hunting to his wear, he arrived, on the 15th Jumada-i awal, at the town of Sahadapuri, where he received the intelligence of the fall of Tanda. After rising possession of the fort of Gadh, the Imperial forces marched on towards Tanda, which is the capital of the kingdom of Bengal. Khair-Abidin's spies now at first reported that Durd intended to make a stand there, and had made his dispositions. Khair-Abidin thereupon increased his army, and took every precaution for the security of his army. Next day he marshalled his forces and advanced upon Tanda. When Dild's spies carried him the intelligence of Khair-Abidin's advance he and his associates thought

of the black sight of Fathil, and fled in dismay, abandoning the town. Thus on the 4th January 1875, the capital of Tanka was won for the Empire by without fighting, and a proclamation of protection was issued to the people. . . . The Emperor arrived at Fathil on the last day of Ramzi (January 18, 1875—after seven months of incessant travelling and many perils).

After the conquest of Tanka and the flight of Dild, Khin Khinay sent High Tiger Mal with some other army towards Dura, in pursuit of Dild. High Tiger Mal reached Madura (in the High District between Northin and Motalipin), was informed by his scouts that Dild was engaged collecting men in Du-hauri, and that his forces were daily increasing. Tiger Mal informed Khin Khinay of this and got reinforcements. Upon their arrival all the chiefs concerned in the expediency of marching to Govepura, ten far from Du-hauri, with all speed. When Dild heard this he did not fly, but stood his ground at Dilep. . . .

High Tiger Mal halted and sent such messengers to inform Khin Khinay of the progress of affairs. Khin Khinay then left Tanka, in march against Dild, and he drew a position with High Tiger Mal. Dild had organized his army and now advanced to meet him. The Afghans encamped their camp, on the 10th 2nd month 1875, the army met (1st March 1875) at Tulawa, now in the Belawan District (between Motalipin and Julem). After the army was formed, the Afghans advanced rapidly and boldly in the attack. Khin Khinay ordered his men upon their own the whole (pushing) and light guns (ambush) which were mounted on sides in front of his line. The fire of the guns drove back the elephants which were placed in front of the Afghan attack, and the artillery moved down the Afghans who were in the advance. An arrow struck Gupar Khin (Dild's general) and brought him down. When the Afghans saw their leader fall, they turned their backs and fled, but many of them were cut down in the flight. High Tiger Mal and others who were upon the right, now charged the left of the troops. Shaban Khin and others, who were on the left, also attacked their opponents of the right, entered their, and drove them back upon Dild. His elephants, being worried by the arrows, turned round upon the body of the army, and the work of dismay was cast among them—the death of Gupar Khin came to the knowledge of Dild. This shook his resolution, and he turned and fled. Immense booty fell into the hands of the victors, and Khin Khinay occupied victorious on the battle-field. He remained there a few days and sent a report of the victory to the Emperor. All the prisoners taken were put to the sword.

Dild fled to Catak, in China, but was pursued by High Tiger Mal and others. Dild had suffered several defeats in succession, and Gupar Khin, his mainstay and support, was slain. Dura started him in the face; so, on his despair and retreat, he sent a message to Khin Khinay with this message: "The strategy to crush a party of Madurans is no little work. I am ready

to fight with . . . and others. Dild had suffered several defeats in succession, and Gupar Khin, his mainstay and support, was slain. Dura started him in the face; so, on his despair and retreat, he sent a message to Khin Khinay with this message: "The strategy to crush a party of Madurans is no little work. I am ready

to submit and become a subject, but I beg that a corner of this wide country of Bengal, sufficient for my support, may be assigned to me. If this is granted, I will not contest, and never alter what." The ruler communicated this to Kālakāṇṭha, and after considerable discussion, it was determined to accept the proposal, upon the condition that Dīdā himself should come out to meet Kālakāṇṭha, and confirm the agreement by solemn hasting words. [The Raja Tanka Māl, who well understood the position of affairs, though he wrung his hands and stamped his feet in grief at the decision, yet with no support, was refused to take any part in the settlement.—*Alak-Nāma* iii, p. 308.]

Dīdā promised that he would never take any hostile hands to the Imperial throne and he confirmed his promise by the most stringent oath. The treaty of peace was sworn up, and then Kālakāṇṭha brought a sword with a jewelled belt of great value out of his store, and presenting it to Dīdā said: "You have now become a subject of the Imperial throne, and have promised to give it your support. I have therefore requested that the sword of Dīdā may be added upon you for your support, and I feel assured that His Majesty will confirm my proposition—granting this to you. I now give you along with this noble sword." Then he bound on the sword with his own hands, and showing him every courtesy, and making him a great supply of gifts, he dismissed him. The Court then broke up, and Kālakāṇṭha started on his route. On the 10th Suktā-Mā. he sent a report of his arrangements to the Emperor, who was greatly delighted and satisfied with the conquest of Bengal. Splendid robes and jewelled ornaments, and a horse with a golden saddle, were sent to Kālakāṇṭha, and all the arrangements he had made were confirmed.

When Kālakāṇṭha, with his mind at ease about Dīdā, returned to Tanka, the capital of the country, under the influence of his drinking, he took a dislike to Tanka, and crossing the Ganges he founded a town for himself at the borders of Gaur, which at old times had been the capital of Bengal, and he ordered that all soldiers and servants should remove from Tanka to Gaur.

In the height of the rains the people were involved in the trouble of epidemics. The air of Gaur is extremely unhealthy, and at former times, the many diseases which distressed its inhabitants induced the rulers to abandon the place, and raise the town at Tanka. Sickness of many kinds now broke out among the people, and every day numbers of men departed from Gaur to the grave (as Gaur he gave), and took farewell to relatives and friends. By degrees the parchments smelted such a pitch that men were unable to bury the dead, and cast the corpses into the river. Every day deaths of many ascetics and officers were reported to Kālakāṇṭha, but he took no warning, and made no resolution to change his residence. He was so great a man that no one had the courage to accuse for crimes of barbarousness from his own, and bring him to a state of the actual position. His own health became affected, and he grew

home, and at the end of ten days in the month of July, 1816, he departed this life. His soldiers and officers, who had no other resort to consolation but, now assembled to lament him. They placed Shihon Khin in command, and made report of the facts to the Emperor. Khin-yikhin had, so far, so all his property bestowed to the poor soldiers, and an account of it was made out. When the despatch reached the Majesty, he appointed Khin-yikhin, who had been supreme governor of the Punjab, to be governor of Bengal. He raised him to the dignity of *emire-i sa'ad*, awarded the *shahin* and the people to his care, bestowed upon him gifts of embroidered coats, jewelled swords, and a richly expensed house, and dismissed him to his government.

While the Emperor was entangled at Ajmer, the rebellion was brought to him that Dild Afghin had fled from away the treaty which he had made with Khin-yikhin, had risen against the civil authority, and had marched against Tarda. The Imperial forces in that quarter having no chief among them on whom they could rely, had abandoned the strategy, and retired to Hichir and Pural. All this commotion had arisen, because Khin-yikhin had taken care in going there, in consequence of his army being at Lahore. The Khin took the field, and advanced into Bengal. He had an army with 3000 men when Dild had left in charge of Cash, and took the place. Nearly 1500 of the enemy were slain, and many chiefs were made prisoners.

On July 23rd, 1816, when Khin was at Patipia, 'messengers arrived with the intelligence that Khin-yikhin, after the capture of Sirhi had advanced to the vicinity of Tarda. There he found that Dild had evacuated Tarda and had taken up a position in the village of Ah. On one side was a river, on the other a mountain, and he had thrown up entrenchments to secure his position. Khin-yikhin marched against him and sharp fighting followed. One day Khwajih Abdull, one of the Imperial officers, advanced from his battery to the edge of the Afghan entrenchment. The enemy rushed forth and attacked him, and he fell fighting bravely. On hearing of his fall the Emperor's anger was roused, and he sent an order to Miranfar Khin, the governor of Pural and Bidir, to assemble all the troops at his province, and march to the assistance of Khin-yikhin. . . . He sent by all-possible fire lots of ropes towards destroying the squares of the camp. Orders were given for the departure of horse ladies with grain from Ajmer, for the use of the camp. The Emperor himself set off from Patipia, but at five *deh* distance he made a halt, and issued orders for the assembling of troops, and for the preparation of boats and artillery. When he was waited upon by Abdull Khin whom he had sent as a messenger to Khin-yikhin, and who now returned to cast the head of Dild at the foot of the Emperor's throne. Report of the victory he returned to the capital.'

The *Firish-i Dild* closes with the following observations:—
'Dild Shah Karim was brought in a prisoner, his horse having fallen with him. Khin-yikhin, seeing Dild in this condition, visited him.

if he called himself a Muslim, and why he had broken the oaths which he had taken on the *Kurba* and before God. Dildā answered that he had made the peace with Shams Khan personally, and that if he had now gained the victory, he would have been ready to meet it. Khan-jahan ordered them to shroud his body from the waist of his head, which he sent to Akbar the King. *From that period the dominion of Hindustan departed from the tribe of Afghans, and their dynasty was extinguished for ever, in lieu of which arose the star of Akbar Shah's supremacy over the whole country.* "The independent kingdom of Bengāl, which had lasted for about two hundred and thirty-six years (1340-1576), writes Smith, "perished along with Dildā, 'the despotic usurper, who knew nothing of the business of governing.'"¹

(c) HĀMĪ PRATĀP'S GLORIOUS RESURGENCE - 1572-97

We have noted already how Akbar's conquest of Bengal was almost complete but for the flight of Rāzā Ulāi Singh of Mithilā, who sought refuge in the Aurangābā where he founded his new capital of Udaipur. "Four years later Ulāi Singh surprised the town of Chitaur," writes Tod, "when he captured at Gopālnā, at the early age of forty-two, yet far too long for his country's honour and welfare."² Pratāp succeeded to the title and stream of an illustrious house, but without a capital, without resources, his fondness and clan dispirited by reverses, yet possessed of the noble spirit of his race, he meditated the recovery of Chitaur, the vindication of the honour of his house, and the restoration of his power. Elevated with this design, he turned into conflict with his powerful antagonist (Akbar), yet stopped to calculate the means which were opposed to him.

1. Tod, p. 148. "Bengal shook' struggle for independence in the reign of Akbar and Jahāngīr," by M. K. Chatterjee, in *Bengal, Past and Present*, "Mughal Period: conflict in Bengal" by Sir J. N. Sarkar, in Jan to Mar 1926, and *Simla and Peshawar Papers* XLII, 1-2, 1925.

2. Tod, op. cit., i, p. 243.

3. "The empire of Akbar during the last quarter of the 16th century," says Smith, "was the most powerful in the world, and its resources were commensurate the richest monarch on the face of the earth. Even in 1576 the amount of his landed income must have been stupendous, and while but the harvest of the farms could have failed to match the diversity of poverty-stricken Hindustā against the glittering host of rich Hindustāni." Smith, op. cit., p. 242.

The only blot on the glory of Prithip his kindred as much as well as blood. The prince of Adirwar, Ashura, Bhāgwa, and even, Buda, his first ally, took part with Akbar and upheld despotism. Nay, even his own brother, Sūrgaṇ, deserted him and received as the price of his treachery, the richest capital of his race, and the title which that possession conferred.

"But the magnitude of the peril confirmed the fortitude of Prithip, who vowed, in the words of the bard, 'to make his mother's milk independent'; and he amply redeemed his pledge. Single-handed, for a quarter of a century did he withstood the combined efforts of the Emperors, at one time carrying destruction into the plains, at another flying from rock to rock, leading his family from the hands of his native kith, and saving the nursing babe Akbar (his son), amidst savage brutes and storms less savage men, a fit harp to his prowess and courage. The bare idea that 'the son of Bhāgwa should bow the head to mortal men,' was insupportable; and he spurned every overture which had submission for its basis, or the degradation of uniting his family by marriage with the Tartar, though led of countless multitudes.

"The brilliant acts he achieved during that period (1512-47) live in every valley; they are engrained in the heart of every true Rājput, and many are recorded in the annals of the conquerors.¹ To recount them all, or relate the hardships he sustained, would be to pen what they would pronounce a romance which had not traversed the country where tradition is yet eloquent with his exploits, or conversed with the descendants of his chiefs, who cherish a recollection of the deeds of their forefathers, and melt, as they recite them, into many tears. . . . To commemorate the distillation of Chitra, which the bardic tradition represents as a 'widow despoiled of the ornaments of her loveliness', Prithip abdicated to himself and his successors every article of luxury and pomp until the emperor

1. Cf. Smith, *loc. cit.* The historians of Akbar, dazzled by the commanding talents and collected means which enabled him to gratify his soaring ambition seldom had a word of sympathy to spare for gallant men whose misery made his triumph possible. Yet they too, men and women, are worthy of remembrance. The remark, it may be, were greater than the matter.—*Ibid.*, p. 224.

of her glory should be redeemed" with the aid of some clouds of judgment and experience, Philip remodelled his government, adapting it to the exigencies of the times and to his slender resources. New grants were issued, with regulations defining the services required. Koshlak¹ (or Koshhalpur), situated on a mountain, near the eastern border of Mewar, about 40 miles to the north of Udaipur city), now the seat of government, was strengthened, as well as Gopunda and other mountain fortresses; and being unable to keep the field on the plains of Mewar, he followed the system of his ancestors, and consigned his subjects, on pain of death, to retire into the mountains. During the protracted contest, the little tract watered by the Banas and the Beris, from the Aravalli chain west, to the eastern tableland, was 'be always,' without a leap:

Nothing is done, whose account we have merely followed, for other events of Akbar's reign, gives only a very brief

Ends of Haid-
Jah or Gopund

description of this glorious fight for independence. 'Rajk Kish (as he calls Prince Philip)

was slain among the Rajas of Hindustan. After the conquest of Omer, he built a town called Kikandis (Gopund), with fine houses and gardens, in the mountains of Hindustan. There he passed his days in rebellion. When Kanwar Mian Singh drew near to Kikandis Rajk Kish called all the Rajas of Hindustan to his aid, and came out of Ghid Haddis (Haidlight) with a strong force to oppose his assailant. Kanwar Mian Singh, in agreement with his sons, put his troops in array and marched to the battlefield. Some desperate charges were made on both sides, and the battle waged for a watch with great slaughter. The Rajas on both armies fought fiercely in emulation of each other. Nearly 150 horsemen of the royal army

1. "The gold and silver dishes were laid aside for paper or leaves, their beds hamperfuls of straw, and their heads left uncoffed. But to order decisively to make their fallen horses and standards lie in suzerainty, he commanded that the martial nations, which always marched in the van of battle or persecution, should follow in the rear. This last sign of the deprivation of Mewar still survives; the head is yet uncoffed by the shears; and even in the subterfuge by which the pious king's letters is set aside, we have a tribute to his memory: for though his descendant sets off gold and silver and sleeps upon a bed, he places the leaves beneath the feet and straw under the other."—*Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, v. p. 247

2. The historian Faizullah has enthusiastically joined this campaign, because, as he put it, "I have a presumption to draw to the throne black

were killed, and more than 200 Rājputs of the country's army were sent to perdition. The enemy lost Sitabachar Gochhay and his son, and the son of Jas Mal. On that day Kish Kish fought obstinately till he received wounds from an arrow and from a spear; he then turned to save his life and left the field of battle. The Imperial forces pursued the Rājputs, and killed numbers of them. Kurwar Min Singh wrote an account of the victory to the Emperor. Next day he went through the pass of Haldia, and entered Kolanda. He took up his abode in the house of Kish Kish, and again returned thanks to the Almighty. Kish Kish fled into the hills for refuge. The Emperor rewarded Kurwar Min Singh and his sons with robes and horses.¹

"On the 7th of *Shraw*, 8. 1632 (July, 1576 A. D.), a day ever memorable in her annals, the hot blood of Mewar irrigated the pass of Haldighati." Pratip retired to the remote fastness of Chound and his strong fortresses fell one by one into the enemy's hands. "But later he recovered all Mewar, excepting Chitor, Ajmer, and Mandalgarh. During the latter years of his life he was left in peace, owing to the inability of Akbar to continue an active campaign in Rajpootana, while necessity compelled him to reside for thirteen years in the Punjab. In 1597 Pratip died, worn out in body and mind. His chiefs pledged themselves to see that his son Amar Singh should not forget his duty."²

"The last moments of Pratip," writes Tod, "were an appropriate commentary on his life, which he terminated, like the Carthaginians, swearing his successor to eternal conflict against the loss of his country's independence. . . . Thus closed the life of a Rājput whose memory is ever now adored by every Rājput, and will continue to be so, till unwarred oppressors shall extinguish the remaining

monarchies and burst in blood through loyalty to your Majesty's person." He said to Jas Mal, the chief under whom he fought, "How are we in these circumstances, since there are Rājputs on either side to distinguish between friendly and hostile Rājputs?" He answered, "On which ever side these may be killed, it will be a gain to India." He retired with great satisfaction. "My hand prepared in the matter, and I attended the second day to see who fought against rebels. . . ." and that day through the assestment of Min Singh, the meaning of this line of Malik Shik became known. . . ." A Hindu states that the sword is India's

¹ E. & B., op. cit., V, pp. 324-25.

² Smith, op. cit., p. 123.

words of pathetic feeling. *May that day never come!* yet if such be her destiny, may it, at least, not be hastened by the arms of Britain.' He also adds, 'There is not a pass in the whole Arcavalli that is not marked by some deed of Pratap,—some brilliant victory, or oftener, more glorious defeat. Haldighati is the Thermopylae of Mewar; the field of Dewair has Marathon.'¹

The end of the struggle with the Mughals is thus briefly described by Dr. Henshaw Prasad. "Raja Pratap was succeeded by his son Amar Singh in 1597. He recognised the limitations of the state, made a fresh assessment of the lands, and regulated the conditions of military service. The Mughals took the offensive again, and in 1599 Akbar sent Prince Salim and Rajp Milan Singh to invade Mewar. The Prince frittered away his time in the pursuit of pleasure at Ajmer, but the valiant Rajp aided by other officers did a great deal. Amar led the attack, but he was defeated, and his country was devastated by the invaders. The campaign came to an end abruptly, when Rajp Milan Singh was called away by the Emperor in order to quell the revolt of Uman Kishin in Bengal. Akbar contemplated another invasion of Mewar, but his illness prevented him from putting his plan into execution."²

(1) THE CRISIS OF 1591.

"The year 1591," observes Singh, "may be regarded as the most critical time in the reign of Akbar, if his early struggles to consolidate his power be not taken into account."³ When the year began he was undisputed master of all the fortresses in northern India, and had extended his dominion east and west from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, and southwards as far as Tapti river. But he was faced with rebellions on all sides, which had arisen from various causes. In addition to the unpopularity discontent among the Afghans whose power he had supplanted, Akbar's religious and other reforms, which we shall notice later, had created a great ferment among the more conservative sections of his subjects. At the same time Akbar's restless brother, Muhammad Hakim, was ever watching for an opportunity to fish in troubled waters. At this time rebellions arose, almost simultaneously, in Bengal, Baluch, Gujarat, and in the north-west. We shall notice these one by one.

1. *Ibid.* op. cit., I, pp. 185-86.

2. *A Short History of Mughal Rule in India*, p. 166.

3. *Ibid.* op. cit., p. 159.

We have noted already that, after the death of Muslim Khán, Khán-i-Jahan was appointed governor of Bengal. He too died in December 1578, and was succeeded by Mansur Khán Turbatí in March 1579. Mansur did this modestly. 'Mansur Khán, on arriving in Bengal, set about arranging the affairs of that province. But his prosperity was on the wane, and his day was gone by. He was harsh in his measures, he offended men with his words, he deprived many order of their rights, he demanded the *ajda* (bread-tax), and brought old practices up again.

Íshák Khán Káshghí, although he was overthrust, and found that his right might be left undisturbed, was called upon for the *ajda*, and received no attention. The *farman* of Ísháq which was the *ajda* of Khán Khán, was taken away from him, at the beginning of the spring harvest, and was added as *tax* to the *ajda* of Íshák Khán at the *Haras*. A sum of money due from the spring harvest had been received by Khán Khán, and to receive this Mansur Khán put him in prison, and ordered him to be scourged and bastinadoed.

'At this time a Jewele arrived from the Imperial Court, bringing Mansur Khán to apprehend that put to death a servant of Mirza Muhammad Haidar, named Káshán Beg, who had left Íshák and gone into Bengal, and to send his head to Court. This Káshán Beg was among the Káshghís, and Mansur Khán issued an order for his execution. On this again some harsh words about Íshák Khán Káshghí. The nobles who were present, and especially Íshák Khán and the Káshghís, crowded together and reviled upon manly. They shaved their heads, put on their high caps, and broke out into words. Crossing the river, they went to the city of Gaur, celebrated in old times under the name of Lakhsanah. There they collected men, and having looted property of Mansur Khán in several places, they took it or destroyed it. Mansur Khán collected gentry and sent Haidar Abul Fakh and Fakh Báb (the former a *darwish*, and the latter a Hindu clerk), with an army against them on the banks of the river.

'When the dissension of the Káshghís was reported to the Emperor, he sent a Jewele to Mansur Khán, in which he said that the Káshghís had long been servants of the Emper, and it was not right to hurt them; and they were desirous to be reconciled and encouraged with wages of the Emperor's favour, and the matter of their *ajda* was to be settled. The Jewele arrived at the time when Mansur Khán was in face of the campers.

'Upon the arrival of the Jewele,—Íshák Khán and the other rebels made a show of submission, and sent a message to Mansur Khán, asking him to send Íshák Khán and Fakh Báb to arrange terms with them. . . . But, when they arrived, Íshák Khán put them in confinement, and so started the fire of war.

Calculated with this, it is supposed that Mulla Tahir and his Parthians, Sakai, and the various officials of Kishu, also moved upon these districts. They took away the sugar of Muhammad Miliam Kibbi, Arab Bakhar, and all the cities, and so laid the foundation of an evil omen. Miliam Kibbi and the others resolved to rebel, and told Mulla Tahir and his Parthians. Having put them to flight, they plundered their dwellings. After a few days, Parthians raised very loyal soldiers, and crossed the river Jauhi with the intention of attacking the rebels. But the rebel Arab Bakhar anticipated him, took him overboard, and killed him.

'Upon the intelligence of Miliam's rebellion reaching Sidi Kishu, a correspondence was opened between them, and when the Kishuhs threatened Miliam Kibbi, Miliam marched to assist them, and arrived at Gada . . . and the rebels gathered strength. The Kishuhs then crossed the river and advanced against Miliam Kibbi. . . Miliam Kibbi then took shelter in the fort of Tandi, which was nothing better than four walls. The rebels occupied the town of Tandi. They took Sakhi, Arab Pak, Kishu's Shamso-d din and others prisoners, and began to pillage.

The rebels made themselves masters of the fort of Tandi through Miliam Kibbi out of his house upon a solemn assurance of safety, and put him to death. They took possession of his property and effects, and all the country of Bangal and Sidi fell into their hands. Nearly 10,000 horsemen assembled round the rebels. The Emperor soon came down then had taken Mirza Shadi-d din Kishu out of prison, and sent him to Bangal to Miliam Kibbi (as he kept in custody). The rebels now released him from confinement, and placed him at their head. In the work occurred.

'Upon the facts being communicated to the Emperor, he sent Fakh Tahir Mui, and other men to suppress it. Farukha was sent to Muhammad Miliam Farukh, governor of Jaupur, and the sirdars of that country, directing them to place themselves under the command of Tahir Mui, and render every assistance to quash the rebellion.

'But Muhammad Miliam was a weak-minded man, his dignity and the strength of his arm had turned his brain, and he began to show many signs adverse to recovery of his sanity, and to utter expressions indicative of idiocy. Sidi Tahir Mui, like a prudent and experienced man, keeping with him, and did all he could to restrain and convince him.

'When the Imperial army reached Mungir, the Kishuhs, and Mirza Shadi-d din Husain with 8,000 horse, and 500 elephants, and with war both and artillery, in battle array, advanced to meet the Imperial army. Sidi Tahir Mui had no confidence in the cohesion of the advanced companying the enemy's army, and deeming it expedient to fight, he occupied the fort of Mungir, and throwing up other fortifications around it, he kept that position. Every day combats occurred between the men of the outposts. When these proceedings were reported to the Emperor, he sent a large sum of money for the expenditure of the army. . . . For four months the royal forces and the insurgents fought each other, but at length were loyal soldiers of the victory out of the

supplies from the insurgents, and great scarcity prevailed among them. Balu Khan, Yakub's left aide and chief adviser, not being able to maintain his ground, withdrew to Bidar. Arab Bidar made rapid march to Patna, seized upon the city, and appropriated the treasure, but he was soon put to flight. Todar Mal and the other officers marched to Bidar, ... and the Emperor's good fortune aided them, and Musam was driven to Bengal in some flight. Slave Guards fell into the hands of the rebel troops." After this, though fighting continued for a considerable length of time in the eastern provinces, the back of the rebellion was broken, and Bengal and Bidar were restored by Imperial officials.

Akbar appointed his kinsman-brother, Mirak Arif Kokah, governor of Bengal, under the title of *Khan-i-dar*, and entrusted him with the task of further pacifying the eastern provinces. In order to conciliate the rebels, Baki Munim, the Diwan or Finance Minister, who had been responsible for drastic measures (like cutting down the allowances of soldiers by 50 and 20 per cent.) was temporarily removed from office. "Mulla Muhammad Yaqub, the Khan of Jaunpur, who had dared to give the ruling that rebellion (against an improving ruler) was lawful, was sent for, along with his colleague, the Khan of Bengal. Their bones 'bowed' in the west, and sundry other Mullas suspected of disaffection were 'sent to the dust of annihilation', by one way or another (Bulford, II, p. 255). Akbar exhibited his usual politic democracy in favour of several of the prominent rebel leaders, who sometimes showed 'his leniency and renewed their disloyal conduct.'"¹

Akbar did not personally undertake the subjugation of the eastern rebels, because there was a more serious danger threatening from the north-west. His

2. Mirak Khan-
in: Rebellion.

brother, Mirak Muhammad Bidar, was once more preparing for an invasion in collusion with the Bengal insurgents. "A successful invasion from Kishan," as Smith points out, "resulting in the occupation of Delhi and Agra, with its enormous store of treasure, would have meant the destruction of the empire which Akbar had built up with so much labour and skill. But if that invasion should fail, the rising in the east might be safely regarded as a mere provincial trouble to be adjusted sooner or later by the Imperial officers. Events proved the soundness of Akbar's judgment. The invasion from the north-west was repelled, and the eastern insurrections were suppressed in due course."²

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 257-58.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 286-87.

Subhmad-d gives account of this north-western campaign in as follows:—

In the beginning of this year (1800 H or 1801 A.D.) intelligence arrived that Mirza Muhammad Haidar, stirred by the inducements held out in letters sent to him by Khwaja Kibkib and Mirza Faruqchah, and urged on by his maternal uncle Farukh, had set out from Kabul with the object of conquering Hindustan. He sent his second Shadman over the Indus (as advance) but Kusrar Mirza Singh, son of Ragh Singh who Dab, attacked him and killed him. On hearing of this, the Mirza crossed the river, and encamped in the *paraganah* of Baluchpur. The Emperor, suspecting his intent, and having advanced to all the military eight months' pay out of the treasury, he marched towards the Punjab.

When Kusrar Mirza Singh defeated Shadman, he obtained from Shadman's portfolio three letters from Mirza Muhammad Haidar, one to Haidar; the other one to Khwaja Nizam Mansur (Kibkib's trusted friend) and one to Muhammad Khan Khan Mirzabadi—all in answer to letters of invitation and encouragement. Kusrar Mirza Singh sent these letters to the Emperor, who ascertained the contents, but kept the fact secret.

After the Emperor started from Delhi, Mirza Muhammad Haidar advanced to Lahore and encamped in the garden of Mirza Khan Khan Kusrar Mirza Singh and Khan and Ragh Singh. Dab had gone into the fortress. On the Emperor's reaching Philippe, Mirza Sam Khan, brother of Mirza Haidar deserted the Mirza and came to the Imperial camp. He signified at the tent of Khwaja Nizam Mansur. The Emperor was already suspicious of Mansur, and his doubts were now confirmed. So he dismissed Mansur, and showed him the Mirza's letter. Mansur was mortified (his misfortune), but it was of no use.

The Emperor proceeded to Sahiwal, and there he came into possession of other incriminating letters. . . . On hearing and considering these letters it appeared to His Majesty that Khwaja Nizam had written one of them to Khwaja Mansur, and that the other was certainly forwarded with the consent of Mirza Haidar's brother Mirza Sam, to Khwaja Mansur. Many of the nobles and officers of the State were on bad terms with the Khwaja, and these sought their influence to secure his death. So the Emperor gave the order for his execution, and he was hanged next morning.

Three days afterwards intelligence came in that Mirza Muhammad Haidar having been informed of the Emperor's march towards the Punjab, had passed the river of Lahore, and gone to Kabul. The Emperor advanced from Philippe to Kadian, and from thence to New Sahiwal. There he received good news, and hearing as he went, along he reached the Indus. He ordered a fort to be built on the banks of the Indus, which is called Sindhagar, and he called it *Atliach Kotla*. Bays were ordered to be entered the Indus to produce news. He assigned their respective posts to the nobles. Kusrar Mirza Singh . . . and others crossed over the river towards Peshawar. When they took possession of that city, the Emperor sent Feroz Mirza along with others to effect the conquest of Kabul.

in the first camp from which Haidar came to his portion for his affairs. The Emperor sent Raja Haidar Ali along with them to Kabul, promising him forgiveness, on condition that he reported at the post would first be sent by such (for the future), and would send his sister to the Imperial Court. But when Prince Muzaf came to within seven days of Kabul, Mirik Haidar issued both and attacked him, but he was defeated and put to flight. The victorious Prince then entered Kabul. On Friday, 20th Rajab (18th August 1801), the Emperor himself entered his grandfather's capital, and remained there for twenty days visiting the gardens. The Mirik (Muhammad Haidar) having made a promise and vow of fidelity and executed an engagement for Mervay then turned towards Hindustan, after endeavouring Kiliq upon Mirik Muhammad Haidar. He arrived at Lahore on the last day of Rabi-ul.

He again entrusted the government of the Punjab to Sardar Bahadur Ali, and Kaurar Min Singh and went on his way visiting to Peshawar. On the 20th Shawwal he arrived at Delhi (1st December 1801).

When the Emperor had been engaged in the Kabul campaign, Bahadur Ali, son of Sayyid Bahadur, entered the country of Turbat, and gave himself the title of Bahadur Shah (and according to Bedford caused the Mirik to be read and order to be struck at his name), but he was taken prisoner and killed by the men of Khans Khan. Mirik Haidar Farukh (who had fled to the British) being in distress begged pardon for his offences, through Khans Khan, and in consequence of the Khans' intercession he was pardoned.

"The success of the Kabul expedition," observes Smith, "gave him (Aikbar) an absolutely free hand for the rest of his life, and may be regarded as the climax of his career."

Mahmud Ali's account of the rebellion in Gujarat is too long to be reproduced here. Besides, little interest

3. The Gujarat attaches to the narrative, except in the fact that rebellion. . . the author himself took part in the campaign of suppression. The following brief account of it by Smith sets out the salient features in a nutshell —

1. Smith writes, "The Muhammadan historians represent Aikbar as having restored the government of the Kabul province to his brother directly. But the Mirik had never come in to make personal submission to Aikbar, and there can be no doubt that Father Mowbray is correct in stating that the Emperor made over Kabul to his sister . . . when she came to see him. . . She seems to have tacitly allowed the Mirik to remain the government." (*Aikbar*, p. 200.)

2. Ibid., p. 202.

During the progress of the wars in Bengal and the expedition to Kābil, the province of Gujārat was much disturbed by the revolt of Muzaffar Shah, ex-King of that country. He had escaped from surveillance in 1578, and taken refuge at Junagadh in Kathiawar until 1585, when he collected and started a formidable rebellion, which lasted for about eight years. When Ismail Khān was appointed viceroy in 1585 he was lucky enough to be assisted by Nizam-d-din Ahmed, the khatman, in the capacity of *darshī*, who proved himself to be a most energetic and efficient officer. In September 1601, Muzaffar took Ahmadābād, and assumed the title and state of King. In November, he treacherously killed Kutub-d-din, the distinguished imperial officer who had surrendered to him, and he occupied Bhavnar. The alarming news from the west obliged Akbar to return from Allahābād to the capital in January 1593. He had meantime appointed Mirza Khān (Abderrahmān, Barman Khān's son), better known by his later title of Khān-i-Khāwān, to the government of Gujārat. The pretender was severely defeated by much inferior imperial forces at the battle of Sarkis near Ahmadābād in January 1594, and again at Nādot or Nādot in Bhāgpat. After many vicissitudes he was driven into Cutch (Kachh), where he received support from certain local chiefs. Nizam-d-din inflicted a terrible punishment on their territory by destroying nearly 300 villages and ravaging two *purpāns*. He was then recalled.

Muzaffar continued to give trouble in the wild regions of Kathiawar and Cutch until 1596-97, when he was captured. He committed suicide by cutting his throat, or at any rate was reported to have done so. Abderrahmān got the title of Khān-i-Khāwān for his

1. "We burnt and destroyed the towns of Kari and Kariān two places well known in Cutch. We razed an enormous heap, and after plundering and destroying nearly 300 villages in the course of three days, we returned to the River. . . . After crossing we ravaged and destroyed the *purpāns* of Mohā and Mohā which belonged to Khajūr. . . . After returning to Ahmadābād, I turned my thoughts to the repression of the Gūzars. In the space of two months I led out an army, and then marched towards Oghmān and Ahmadābād. I attacked and had won nearly fifty villages at the Mohā and Gūzars, and I took into my seven different places to keep these people in check. . . . In the year 996 the Emperor gave Gujārat to Asmā Khān, and recalled me to Court. By rapid stages I reached the Imperial Court at Iktān in Eastern Chān, and was most graciously received." (*Nizam-d-din*, E. A. D., op. cit., V, pp. 4697.)

doct of Munshir?¹

(iv) **SATURNATION OF THE PEGUITS.**

Alber, having successfully gained through the arms race described, victory in campaigns which were more or less of an aggressive character, intended mostly to round off his territories by settlement of its frontiers. The annexation of Kabul, Kandhar, Seikh, and Orma and the subjugation of the Baluch and Yezidi, as well as the campaigns against the Uzbeks in Badakhshan, are all illustrative of this. Having now started they he led his last aggressive campaigns for the conquest of the northern kingdoms of the Deccan.

The death of Mirza Muhammad Haidar gave the occasion for the incorporation of Kabul into Alber's dominions.² I. Anarisation of Kabul "The Mirza," says Nadwani also, "was the Emperor's own brother but the Emperor had shown him kindness and affection greater than even that of a brother. For the Mirza had often been presumptuous and aggressive and the Emperor had not only pardoned him and showed him favour, but had even made and sworn to maintain him in Kabul. He was greatly addicted to wine, and once one drinking was the cause of his illness and death. He died on the 12th Shaban, 980 (July, 1585). When the news of his death reached the Emperor, he was much grieved, and after the period of mourning was over his purpose was to confine the country of Kabul to the sons of Mirza. But the nobles urged that the Mirza's sons were of tender age and incapable of ruling; and that the Uzbek army which had already taken Badakhshan was on the brink of attacking Kabul also. These considerations induced the Emperor to march to the Panjshir and he began his march on the 17th of Rabi-ul-Thani ...

"The Emperor travelled by numerous stages without making any halt in Delhi. There he visited the tomb of his father and the shrines of the saints and deposited his shawl upon the tomb, and addressed the M. On the 12th Shaban he reached the bank of the Gaud and encamped. There he was informed that Kurwar Mirza Singh had sent a body of men across the Indus to Peshawar and that Shik Singh, the officer of Mirza Muhammad Haidar had fled to Kabul. On the 12th Rabi-ul-Thani (Alber) attacked and crossed the Hindu Kush. Here he received a despatch from Mirza Singh, reporting that the people of Kabul had willingly submitted to the imperial rule. Moreover, Farid Khan, the uncle of the late Mirza, when Kurwar Mirza Singh entered Kabul in hot haste finding that he was helpless, brought the young prince to wait upon the Emperor. They were received with great kindness and remembrance of protection. Mirza Singh left his own sons in Kabul in the charge of Sa'ad al-Din Khan, and set off with the young prince and the nobles of Kabul to meet

¹ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

the emperor. . . . They were received with greatest generosity at Bawal-poor. Each of the chief attendants received five or ten thousand rupees, a gold, valuable ornaments and signs were also granted. His Majesty placed Kharwar Mian Singh in command, and sent him Kithul on pilgrimage.

When the Emperor reached Ahal, he sent Bhagwan Das, Shah Kuth Mahomed, and other well-known men, with about 1,000 horse to effect the conquest of Kithul. On the same day Ibrahim Nall Khat and Khat Singh were sent against the Bhatolis. Next day Zam Khat Khat was sent with a force against the Afghans of Swat and Bajaur, to restore that turbulent people to order. The Emperor camped at Ahal on the 15th Muharram, 1094.

In former times a Hindustani scholar had come among the Afghans and set up in heretical sect. He induced many, Indian people to become his disciples and he gave himself the title of Pir Ibrahim. He was dead but his son Jafar, a youth of about fourteen, came in the year 1084, to visit upon the Emperor, as he was returning from Kithul. He was kindly received, but after a few days his evil disposition induced him to take flight and go off to the Afghans. There he raised disturbances and gathering a good number of men under him, he shut up the route between Hindustan and Kithul in order to prevent the free exit of Bhatolis. His Majesty placed Kharwar Mian Singh in command and sent him Kithul on pilgrimage.

When intelligence arrived of Zam Khat having entered the country of Swat, and of his having encountered this man of Afghans, who were as numerous as ants and locusts, on the 2nd Jaber, 1094, H. Sherif Khat Ghalib, Khat Barak and others were sent with forces to support him. A few days later Mahomed Akbar Path was sent after them with additional forces. After these reinforcements had joined Zam Khat began to plunder the Afghans, and great spoil fell into his hands. When they reached the pass of Kharwar, a person observed to Khat Barak that the Afghans meditated a night attack on that night, that the extent of the mountain and of the pass was only three or four *deh*, and that if they got through the pass they would be safe from the attack designed. Khat Barak, without making any communication to Zam Khat, pushed on to get through the pass, and all his army followed. At dusk of day, when the sun was about to set, they reached a dakh, the heights of which on every side were occupied with Afghans. Arrows and stones were showered upon them in the narrow pass, and in the darkness men lost their path and perished in the recesses of the mountain. A terrible defeat and slaughter followed. Nearly 1,000 men were killed, and Khat Barak, who fled for his life was slain. On the 14th Jaber's arrival, Zam Khat Khat and Mahomed Akbar Path were defeated and started the foot of Ahal with difficulty.

The defeat greatly troubled the Emperor. He dismissed these men

1. After in particular grieved very much over the death of his great companion Khat Barak and it was to him been so much moved

mountain, and sent High Tador Mui with a large army to repair the distance. The High entered the mountain region with great caution. Here and there he built forts, and harried and plundered continuously, so that he reduced the Afghans to great distress. High Mui Singh, who had marched against these enemies, fought a hard battle with them in the Khathir Pass, in which many of them were slain and made prisoners. The High obtained a great victory (1595).

When Raja Bhagela Dda, Datta Kall Killa Maharan, and others who had been sent against Khawah reached the pass of Bhujyan, on the confines of Khatwar, Yitah Killa, the ruler of that country, came up and blocked the pass. The Imperial forces remained for some days inactive, more and more arms and supplies of men were cut off. Moreover, the news of the defeat of Jaisi spread, and the army was in great difficulty. The ruler resolved to make peace. They settled a tribute to be paid by tribute, sheep, and by the most, to the royal treasury, and they appointed collectors. (They gave the country entirely over to Yitah—Baddani, i. p. 331) Yitah was delighted with the terms, and came to visit the army, and they brought him along with them to visit the Emperor. When they came to Court, the Emperor disapproved of the peace, and the army were forbidden his presence, but after some days they were allowed to make their departure.

Then "Muhammad Killa Killa Jai-Killa" was sent with a large force to effect the conquest of Khatwar. After seven months they entered the defiles of the mountains. When they reached the pass of Katal, Yitah, the son of Yitah Killa, (who had been thrown into prison and was treated as dead by his son—Baddani, i. p. 332) considering himself ruler of Khatwar, came with a considerable force to oppose them. But fortune fought for the Imperial army, and the news of disaster was cast among the Khatwaris. The chiefs of Khatwar were deterred with the rule of Yitah, and several deserted from him and joined Killa Killa. Another party raised the standard of rebellion in Siringer, which is the capital of the country. Yitah deeming it of primary importance to crush the internal rebellion, returned to Khatwar. The Imperial army then entered Khatwar without opposition, and Yitah, unable to make any resistance, fled to the mountains. Siringer was occupied, and revenue collectors were appointed to all the parganas.

The Emperor, being informed of the contest, sent letters of thanks to Killa Killa and the other chiefs, and bestowed honours and promotions upon all of them. Yitah raised a force and fought with Killa Killa, but was defeated. Another time he tried a night surprise, but was unsuccessful. The royal forces pursued him into hills full of trees and defiles beating him and driving him before them. He was very nearly captured. At last in wretched plight and in humble mood, he waited

that he gave up food and sleep for two days. Baddani says: "He never experienced such grief at the death of any man as he did at that of Baddani."

upon Akbar Khan, and enrolled himself among the adherents of the imperial throne? Indira adds that he was eventually sent into India to High Nish Singh, to join his father, and both Yash and Yash-dev died in confinement, worn out with trouble and charges.¹

The Emperor after this paid a visit to Khairpur and killed and executed the remainder of several of the important officers. The government of Khair was given to Zam Khan Khin, and Zam Nish Singh was recalled to Court and the government of Peshawar and Tangai was conferred upon him. About the same time the government of Kohistan was given to Mirza Yash Khan Kurei, and Kurei Mirza was recalled. Sakh Khin was sent to Delhi and Akbar against the Yousufzais, and the pargana of Nish Singh at Kohistan and elsewhere were granted to him. Sakh Khin was recalled from Delhi and Akbar, and sent to Gujarat, to replace Kaly Khan, who was summoned to Court. Kaly Khan arrived from Gujarat and was appointed to assist High Tadar Mili in Rawalpindi and Civil administration.²

When the Emperor was at Khair, intelligence reached him that High Tadar Mili was a rebel, and was with Akbar and High Begum Diba without success, had died at Kohistan. On the 15th March, 1861, the Emperor started on his return to Hindustan, leaving the government of Khair in the hands of Muhammad Khan Mirza. He gave the government of Gujarat to Mirza Asaf Muhammad Khan Mirza Asaf Khan who held the government of Mirza. He recalled Mirza Mahmud al-Muhammadi, the ruler of the work, to Court. To Khair-Khain he gave Jaipur instead of the pargana which he had held in Gujarat.

The city of Lahore had been for some years the most restless, and many chiefs of that quarter had come to seek refuge and the upon Emperor. But High Beg. of Thana, although he had sent letters and orders, had never come in person to enroll himself among the supporters of the Imperial throne. Khair-Khain was now appointed governor of Lahore and Hindustan, and he was commanded to effect the conquest of Delhi and the Rajputa. In the month of Rabi-ul-awwal (1860) he was sent on his campaign, along with a number of chiefs whose names are too numerous to mention. He had a hundred elephants and a train of artillery.

Khair-Khain had besieged Del. Beg for two months. Every day there was fighting, and loss on both sides. The Ghazis had got possession of the roads, and prevented the passage of provisions. Grain had consequently become very scarce and bread exceedingly dear. Khair-Khain had no option but to move away, to be met all towards the progress of Jan. and Thana. But he sent a portion of his force to attack Ghazis

1. Pathan, in p. 103, Mirza Asaf, on the other hand says, "Yash was released from prison, and received a sign so that he might have better means, and approximate the kind treatment he had received" (Aligarh-Nizam, in, p. 148).

Jan Bgy, assuming the Shweta dress to be weak, his numbers, marched against it. But confident in the Imperial good fortune, they went in on battle. The Royal Tiger White was Dfawa, fought most bravely, and was killed. The wind of victory blew upon the royal standards, and Jan Bgy drew towards the banks of the river, and again detached himself. Kikin-kikaw upon his side, and the Salween later upon the other, both drew upon him and besieged him. There was fighting every day. At length Jan Bgy's men were reduced to eat their horses and mules, and many were killed every day by the fire of the guns and muskets. Jan Bgy was compelled to make an offer of capitulation and promise to go and wait upon the Emperor. He begged for the period of three months to make preparations for his journey, and this was conceded. It being the rainy season Kikin-kikaw remained in the village of Namo in the vicinity of Shweta for that time. The fort of Shweta was abandoned, and Jan Bgy gave his daughter in marriage to Motaw Bgy, son of Kikin-kikaw. He also surrendered twenty ships, (three masted ships).

The indifference of this victory gave the Emperor great joy, as he deemed it a good omen of his success in Kikin-kaw. He then continued his journey to Kikin-kaw taking me with him as interpreter. It is a curious fact that when the Emperor started on his return from Kikin-kaw, he observed: "It is forty years since I was slain, and there are many men with me, born and bred in Hind, who have never met it. If a misfortune should come upon us, it would be a kind dispensation of Providence." It occurred just as His Majesty expressed his wish. On the 1st day of sunset he reached the fort of Potha, and then moved. On the 15th he moved to Li-haw, and on the 16th Su-faw and its army of 15000.

Intelligence being reached him, that Hsin Min Singh had taken a great battle with the sons of Kulin Achin, who were his death, had held the country of Ome, and having defeated them, he had entered that extensive country, which lay beyond Bengal to the Imperial dominions. The new province was attached to the Sakh of Bengal, and assigned to be part of the Empire until 1550, when the Marikins conquered it from Suwark Kade.

The year 1550 saw the completion of the conquests and annexations in the north-west effected by the arms of Abbar. Dabulistan and Kandahar officers or through diplomacy based on the terror of his name. In February of that year Mir Miran the heroism, who united the sword and the pen with equal facility, attacked the fort of Sim to the southeast of Quetta which was held by the Potho Afghans. The tribunes who ventured to leave to defend their stronghold, were defeated in battle, and after considerable consideration the place, with the result that all Baluchistan, as far as frontier of the Kandahar province, and including Makran, the region near the coast, passed under the Imperial scepter.

A little later, in April Kandahar staff came into Akbar's jurisdiction without bloodshed.¹ The Persian governor, Nizamdar Husain Mirza, being involved in quarrels with relatives and in danger from the Uzbeks asked Akbar to depute an officer to take over charge. The Emperor of course complied gladly, and sent Shah Beg, who had been in the service of his brother at Kandahar. The city, thus peacefully acquired, remained under the Indian government until 1622, when Jahangir lost it. Shahjahan recovered it and held it from 1622 to 1649, when it was finally separated from the empire.²

Akbar was anxious to recover his ancestral domains in Trans-Oxiana. When he marched to Kandahar, he was 'most intent upon effecting the conquest of Badakhshan'.³ Later, 'Mirza Sulaiman, with the assistance of Mirza Muhammad Haffiz, had returned to Badakhshan, and obtained a victory over the army of Abdullâh Kalin Kalig'. Abdullâh Kalin of Badakhshan, when he was informed of Mirza Sulaiman's success, gathered a strong force, which he sent to oppose him. Mirza Sulaiman unable to cope with this army, retreated to Kandahar, all Badakhshan came into the power of the Uzbeks. Akbar then tried to conciliate Abdullâh Kalin with diplomacy. 'Nearly a lac and a half of rupees, equal to 27,000 toman of gold goods of Hindustan, and camelines were presented to Muhammad Ali Khanbulak for presentation to Abdullâh Kalin'. But all this was of little avail. On the contrary, Akbar was in constant anxiety about the activities of the Uzbek leaders, until the death, in 1566, of Abdullâh Kalin, when, relieved of all danger from that direction, he turned definitely towards the north.

(a) CONQUEST OF THE DECCAN :

In August 1561, Akbar had sent diplomatic missions to the various kingdoms of the Deccan. 'Fazl, the brother of the learned Shahih Abu'l Fazl, to Asir and Barchinpur; Khwaja Amara-d din to Ahmadnagar, Mirza Muhammad Amin Mirshahi to Bijapur, and Mirza Mirza to Golkonda'. But in 1563, 'the ambassador, whom the King had deputed to the Deccan, returned commencing that all the kings had refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of Akbar, who accordingly determined to reduce them to subjection'.⁴ Only Rājā All Khan, the ruler of Bidar, who was 'a man of great talent, just, wise, prudent, and brave,' had showed indications of being loyal. 'The chief importance of Rājā All Khan's territory lay in the fact that it included the mighty fortress of Aurgah, commanding the main road to Deccan, and partly regarded

¹ Smith, op. cit., p. 228.

² Frawley, *Empire*, II, pp. 298, 300.

as one of the strongest and best equipped fortresses in Europe or Asia."¹ There was no unity among the Sultans of the Decan, and they continued to fight among themselves, in spite of the common danger that now threatened their independence. Shihab-ud-Din of Ahmednagar died in 1534, and was succeeded by his son Ibrahim, who was killed in battle by the Rajputs in 1535. The Ahmednagar sultan, refusing to acknowledge the new king, rebelled, and besieged Ahmednagar. In this dilemma, finding himself unable to cope with his enemies, the party supporting the young prince attracted the help of the Mughals in Gujarat.

"Prince Murad, having previously received orders from his father, Akbar, to march into the Decan, gladly embraced the proposal, and moved with great expedition to the south." *Abdurnahman Khatibkhani*, also marched to the south at the same time.

"Mirza Mansur (the minister) having by this time, supported the rebellion, reported of his having called to the

1. *Shah of Ahmednagar*.
Mughals, and had already lost in a series of operations at Ahmednagar to defeat it. He left Chhatrapati,

his daughter of Husain Nizam Shah, in supreme command of the fort, and himself marched with the remainder of the army, and a large train of artillery, towards the Bijapur frontier. The Prince Ibrahim and Mirza Khatib, instead of moving as above now proceeded to lay siege to Ahmednagar. In November 1535, the besiegers opened their trenches, and commenced approaches by raising mounds, erecting batteries and sapping mines, while Chhatrapati, defended the place with masculine resolution, and wrote letters to Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur, and Nizam Shah of Golkonda, for aid. At the end of three months, Chhatrapati appeared with a veil on her head. She got permission to be brought to view on the standards, and stones to be hurled on them, so that they were repulsed in several repeated attacks. During the night, she caused by the workmen, and caused the trench to be filled up some feet before daylight, with wood, stones, and earth, and dead carcasses. Meanwhile, a report prevailed that the general of Ibrahim Adil Shah was on his march in conjunction with Nizam Shah's troops, at the head of an army of 70,000 horse, to raise the siege. At the same time a scarcity of provisions prevailing in the Mughal camp, the Prince and Mirza-Khatib thought it advisable to enter into negotiations with the besieged.

"It was stipulated by Chhatrapati, that Akbar should send Berda, while Ahmednagar and its original dependencies should remain entirely in the hands of Ibrahim Shah, the grandson of Shihab-ud-Din Shah II. These terms being refused, the Prince Murad

1. *Shah*, op. cit., p. 127.

and Khin-Mahin marched towards Bala, where they built the town of Shikhar, near Balliput, and formed encampments in that place (1585).

After the departure of the Maghals, Chind Shah assigned his authority and the ruling, contrary to his advice,

to Bala of and in violation of the late treaty, married with

2000 horse to the north, in order to expel the

Maghals from Bala; while Khin-Mahin leaving the Prince at Shikhar, moved with 2000 horse accompanied by Raja Ali Khan Firoz, to oppose them on the banks of the Godavari. On reaching the village of Sipi Khin-Mahin halted for some days to reform himself of the diseases and strength of the enemy, and having looked the river, then only knee-deep, drew up his army on the north bank. The Sultan Shahi troops were on the right, the Kach Shahi on the left, and the last Shahi in the centre.

On the side of the Maghals, Khin-Mahin took post in the centre Raja Ali Khan of Khindol and Raja Firoz Chander at the head of a body of volunteers, began to attack. The onset of the Maghals was begun with much intrepidity, they broke the advance troops of the Deccan.

However, they met with a check from a heavy discharge of artillery, small arms and rockets, which did much execution among the Rajas and the Khindol troops, Raja Ali Khan and Raja Firoz Chander were both killed and above three thousand of their men fell; the Maghal centre and left also gave way at the same time, and left the enemy master of the field in that quarter.

But, Sahib Khan (the enemy's commander), after performing prodigies of valour, was cut by a lance and lay all blood from wounds he received in the action, fell from his horse. Some of his dependants, however, bore him off the ground, and his army, according to custom, followed, leaving Khin-Mahin master of the field, but being in no condition to pursue the fugitives, the Maghals returned to Shikhar.

The private enmity that had long subsisted between the prince

and the Khin-Mahin, at this time rose to give the field in a dangerous battle. The King, therefore, conceiving

it imprudent to leave them any longer together, dispatched Sheikh Abdul Fari, in the year 1006 H. (1597). Khin-Mahin was recalled to the province. At the time Prince Abdul Malik, being dangerously ill (of excessive drinking), died in 1007 H. The King grieved at the death of the son increased his desire of conquering the Deccan as a means of diverting his mind. In the meantime, the rulers of the Sultan Shahi dominions gained some slight advantages over the Maghals.

Khin-Mahin was now despatched (again) to the Deccan, accompanied by Prince Daulat, with orders to occupy the whole of the Sultan Shahi territory. After also, in the year 1008, (1599), marched in person to the north, leaving his dominions in the north under the charge of the Prince Raja Muhammad Salim Malik.

Meanwhile, Daulat Malik and the Khin-Mahin, entered the Deccan. Muzaffar Khan, son of Raja Ali Khan, unlike his father,

maintain a hostile position on Ashgabad after the Maghul army had gone to the south. The Prince desired a gradual, therefore, to halt on the banks of the Godwin near Ferikha in order to communicate with Bay-Akbar having reached Mirda desired the Mirza to proceed to Akhshar-nagar, as he himself intended to besiege Ashgabad. Durrani and Khaw-Mirza accordingly marched with about 30,000 horse towards Akhshar-nagar. The Durrani officers flying before them, left the Maghuls at liberty to advance without opposition. The city of Akhshar-nagar soon fell into the hands of the Maghuls, owing to its armed weakness. Ghori Mirza the only capable leader was either murdered or constrained to take poison. The town surrendered in August 1698 after 1000 of the garrison had been put to the sword. The young prince and his family were constrained to taking imprisonment in the fort of Gollan.

Akbar failed in inducing Mirza Bahadur Khan to submit to his authority. He accordingly proceeded to Beshkappa, and directed one of his generals to besiege Ashgabad which lay only an hour from that place. After the

siege had continued a considerable time, the air on account of the heavy loss of troops stayed up in the fort, became very unhealthy. This occasioned a pestilence which swept off several of the garrison, and although Mirza Bahadur Khan had still sufficient men for the defence of Ash, as well as a large magazine of weapons stores and provisions, he began to despair. At that time also Akhshar-nagar fell. In the beginning of the year 1006 H. (1698), Mirza Bahadur Khan being all night seized the strong fortress of Ash into the hands of Akbar, and plundered up treasures and plans which had been accumulating there for many ages. The wealth of Akhshar-nagar was also brought to Beshkappa. Ibrahim Agha Mirza of Beshkappa was an ambassador to mediate Akbar, and was sent to give his daughter in marriage to his son, Prince Durrani Mirza. A Maghul noble was accordingly dispatched with suitable offerings to escort the bride from Beshkappa. Asir, Beshkappa, Akhshar-nagar and Batta, were not considered into one province the government of which was conferred upon Durrani Mirza, under the management of Mirza Mirza. The King after these successes, having returned to strength in the city of Ajak, in the year 1011 H. (1699) assumed by proclamation the title of Emperor of the Deccan in addition to his other titles.

(c) DEATH OF AKBAR.

The above narrative of the progress of the Deccan is mainly taken from Ferikha. The exact nature of the aspirations of Ashgabad is one of the subjects of keen controversy. "Ashgabad," says Smith, "was the last of the long list of Akbar's conquests, which had been practically continuous for forty-five years." The history



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JAHANGIR

of the remaining four years of Akbar's reign is then briefly recorded by Ferishta:—

In the course of the same year (1588), Sheikh Abul Fazl, was recalled from the Deccan, and that learned man was unfortunately attacked and cut off in the district of Nurgur, by banditti near Gachs. In the month of Rajab, 1002 (June, 1604), Mir Ismail-din Husain, who had been deputed to Dihly, returned with the royal hoards and the royal household treasury. He delivered the young Salim to Dihly upon the banks of the Godavari near Padana,¹ where the regents were collected with great magnificence, after which Mir Ismail-din Husain proceeded to join the King at Agra. On the 1st of Rabi, of the year 1003, the Prince Dihly died at the city of Burhampat, owing to want of fooding. His death and the circumstances connected with it, so much affected the King, who was in a declining state of health, that he every day became worse, till, on the 13th of Jamada-ul-kum, in the year 1004 (25, Oct., 1605), he died, after a reign of fifty-one years and some months. Twenty telegraphs only to that King to whom our writing is due, The words 'The death of King Akbar' contain the funeral lessons which compose the dirge of his death.²

This account, although it refers to the assassination of Abul Fazl, fails to point out its connection with Prince Salim's rebellion. The murder of his great companion, as well as the murder-suicide of Prince Salim, must certainly have hastened Akbar's approaching end. The details concerning these closing events may be only briefly stated here:—

Prince Salim, on the territory of Badliand, is accused of having poisoned his father, as early as 1601. 'In this year,' says Badliand, 'the Emperor's constitution became a little deranged and he suffered from stomach-ache and choler... In his unconscious state he uttered some words which arose from suspicion of his eldest son, and accused him of giving poison.'³ Commenting upon this, Smith observes: "It is impossible to say whether or not the suspicion was then justified; but it is certain that in 1600 Salim had become utterly weary of waiting for the long-deferred and ardently desired succession."⁴ In 1600, when Akbar left for the southern campaign,

¹ Ferishta personally accompanied the bride.

² Briggs, p. 326. According to Smith, "He died some three midnight early in the morning of Thursday, Oct. 27, now style Oct. 17, old style," or according to the Mohammedan reckoning, on Wednesday night." Ibid. p. 326.

³ Badliand, *ib.*, p. 324.

⁴ Smith, *loc. cit.*, p. 324.

he left Salim in charge of the capital. In 1680, when Osman Khán, an Aghá who rebelled in Bengál, Salim was asked to proceed to the eastern province, but he preferred to remain at Allahábad, to appropriate the vast revenue of Bihár (amounting to no less than 30 lakhs of rupees) and assign jagirs to some of his supporters. It was this gross misconduct of Salim that had made Akbar somehow finish the conquest of Agherá and hasten to the north. Akbar reached Ágra in May 1681, and heard that Salim was coming to the court with 30,000 horse. But in fact, reached Dáurát only 73 miles from the capital. Akbar thereupon ordered him to return to Allahábad, and at the same time conferred on him the government of Bengál and Orissá. Early in 1682, Salim requested that he should be permitted to return to the capital with 75,000 men, that all his guards and his officers should be confirmed, and that his adherents should not be regarded as rebels. Still, Akbar could not make up his mind to fight this strange rebel. In the meanwhile Salim continued in royal style at Allahábad, struck coin in his own name, and had even the impudence to send specimens of them to Akbar.

Unable to enforce all this, the Emperor communicated his wish to Akbar Fátá in the Deccan. The valiant minister recommended strong action, and himself undertook to bring the Prince bound to the Court. But unfortunately, as stated above, he was intercepted by the hand of the assassin, Sir Singh Bandela who had been hired for the purpose by Salim. His head was sent to Allahábad, and "Salim received it with unholy joy and treated it with shameful looks." Salim records this crime in the following terms:—

"Shahí Akbar Fátá, who modified the Shahshahís of Hindústan in wisdom and learning, had adorned himself externally with the jewel of sincerity, and sold it to my father at a heavy price. He had been summoned from the Deccan, and since his departure towards my very hot breast—he both publicly and privately spoke against me. It became necessary to prevent him from coming to court. As Sir Singh Dáurát's country was exactly on the route and he was there a rebel, I sent him a message that if he would stop the rebellion-monger and kill him, he would receive every function from me.

"By God's grace, when Shahí Akbar Fátá was passing through Sir Singh Dáurát's country, the Siríá blocked his road, and after a little contest captured his men and killed him. He sent his head to me at Allahábad. Although this crime was a cause of anger in the mind of the late Shah (Akbar), in the end it enabled me to proceed, without much disturbance

of dust to kiss the threshold of my father's palace, and by degrees the remembrance of the King was cleared away."

After further losses, and, distracted with grief, he declared: "If Salim wanted to go the Emperor, he might have killed me and spared Akbar Bad." For three days he abstained from appearing in public audience, and sent urgent orders to apprehend Mir Singh Dev. The monarch, though badly poisoned and wounded on one occasion, evaded capture, and lived to enjoy the favour of Jahangir. "The murder," says Smith, "was effectual for two years in stopping Akbar from taking strong measures to silence his rebellious son."¹

About April 1606, a temporary reconciliation was effected between father and son, through the intervention of Salim Begum (Khanum Khair's widow, daughter of Humayun's sister Gulshahn Begum, whom Akbar had married,—the mother of Murad). Akbar went to the extent of taking off his own turban, and placing it on the head of his son, thus publicly recognizing him as heir to the throne. But it was all in vain. Again, when Salim was ordered to march against Jamar Singh (son of Mirza Faruk), he went off to Allahabad and renewed his old and evilly ways. Akbar was prevented from going after him by the death of his own mother Maryam Miran in August 1606. In November, when Salim came to the capital, Akbar severely reprimanded him for his unfilial conduct, and by way of punishment deprived him of his accustomed dose of opium for 34 hours (according to *Mir'at-i Jahangir*, of both liquor and opium for ten days), but ultimately softened and pardoned him. After this Salim hastily accepted the government of the western provinces which had been held by his brother Daryab but continued to live at Agra until Akbar's death in October 1605.²

Asad Beg records: "During the Emperor's illness the weight of affairs fell upon the Khairi ladies (*ada Khatun*), and when it became evident that the life of that illustrious sovereign was drawing to a close, he consulted the Mirza Mir Singh, one of the principal nobles, and they agreed to make Salim Khairi Emperor."³ They were both vested in business and possessed of great power, and

1. *Ibid.*, p. 337.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 348.

3. The Khairi name was Prince Khair's father's name; and Khairi's mother was the daughter of Bhagwan Das, Mirza Singh's adopted father.

determined to win the Prince (Salim), when he came, according to his daily custom, to pay his respect as Court, thus displaying the nature of their mind, little considering that the man cannot be trusted with such, nor the marks of the pen of destiny be erased by the possibility of treachery. He whose the hand of the power of Allah upholds, though he be helpless as himself, is safe from all evil." When these designs were frustrated by other royal nobles who declared "This is contrary to the laws and customs of the Chaghatai Tartars, and shall never be," Khaji Mirza Singh saw the change in the aspect of affairs, and took Sultan Khizr's with him to his own palace, and prepared bust, intending to escape the next day to Bengal. As soon as the Prince was relieved from all anxiety as to the court affairs were taking, he went with the great nobles, and Mir Mirza Ali Khin at their head, without fear, to the fort, and approached the young Emperor. He was still breathing, as if he had only wanted to see that flourish once (Salim). As soon as that most fortunate Prince entered, he bowed himself at the feet of His Majesty. He saw that he was in his last agonies. The Emperor once more opened his eyes, and signed to them to invest him with the turban and robes which had been prepared for him, and to gird him with his own dagger. The attendants prostrated themselves and did homage; at the same moment that sovereign whose eyes are forgiven, bowed himself also and closed his life.¹

There are various stories as to Akbar's death being due to poisoning; but Smith writes, "On the whole, while it is perhaps most probable that Akbar died a natural death, the general belief that he was poisoned in some fashion by somebody may have been well-founded. The materials do not warrant a definite judgment."²

(g) Akbar's Relations with the Europeans.

The Portuguese were the principal Europeans with whom Akbar came into contact, both for a religious and secular purpose. Although the Jesuits belonged to different nationalities, they acted in close concert with the Portuguese authorities at Goa. The English contact with Akbar was very slight.

In 1592, "The Portuguese were strongly established on the western coast in fortified settlements taken from the Sultan of the Deccan,

1. E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 169-72.

2. Smith, op. cit., p. 205.

and situated at Goa, with a considerable territory attached; Chaul, Bombar (Bombay) with neighbouring places, Basim (see Malabar, Bombay in the margin, p. 21), Daman, and Diu. These forts controlled the mercantile and pilgrim traffic of the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf. No other European power had gained any footing on the west of India, and no Englishman had even landed in the country.¹

Akbar met the Portuguese for the first time, as we have noted, during his Gujarat campaign. In 1572, while at Candor, some Portuguese merchants came to pay their respects. The next year, according to Abu'l Fazl, 'while the siege of Surat was proceeding, a large party of Christians from the part of Goa arrived; they were admitted to an audience with the Emperor, although it was probable that they had come to assist the bishop, and to get the list into their own hands. But when they saw the strength of the Imperial force, and its power of carrying on the siege, they represented themselves to be ambassadors, and besought the honour of an interview. They offered various articles of the country as presents. Akbar treated each one of them with great consideration, and conversed with them about the affairs of Portugal, and other European nations'.² A treaty was also entered into with Antonio Cabral, the Portuguese envoy from Goa, one of the principal terms of which was assurance of the safety of the pilgrims to Mecca, who used to be molested by Christians.

In 1576, the year following the building of the *Masjid-Khidr* (or the House of Worship), Akbar met two Jesuits (Anthony Vaz and Peter Daur) in Bengal. Their request of Christian converts who wanted to deliver the Imperial treasury, by relating to pay some legitimate shipping and other dues, impressed Akbar to a great extent about these strangers from Europe. Accordingly, he sent for Father Julian Pereira, the Vice-General at Sighin. But the worthy Father "being a man of more piety than learning" could not satisfy Akbar's curiosity about the Christian religion.

In 1577, Akbar consulted Pietro Tivaron, the captain or commandant of the port of Sighin; but, says Smith, "Unfortunately, he too was disqualified to answer correctly the various questions pro-

1. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 248.

2. Akbar-Nama, K. & D., op. cit., VI, p. 42.

posed to him." Nevertheless, Alder made both a grant of land, some time between 1575-80.

In 1578, Antonio Cabral again visited Alder at his Court : "but being a layman, he was not in a position to expound with authority the deeper matters of the faith."

These failures only whetted Alder's curiosity more. So he sent dependees to Goa both of a secular and religious character. He sent Hiãf Abdalla, to bring from Goa European curios, and to copy anything worthy of imitation. Among the things that he brought back was a musical organ "like a great box, the size of a man, played by a European sitting inside. The wind was supplied by bellows or fans of peacock's feathers." Some Europeans, and others dressed like Europeans also accompanied the organ. But the more important purpose of the embassy was for missionaries.

In September 1578, Alder's embassy reached Goa with the following message :—

'Order of Jati & of the Great, King by God appointed, Fathers of the Order of St. Paul, know that I am most kindly disposed towards you. I send Abdalla, my ambassador, and Demado Fero, to ask you to my court to send me two learned priests who should bring with them the chief books of the Law and the Gospel, for I wish to study and learn the Law and what is best and most perfect in it. The moment my ambassadors return let them not hesitate to meet with them and let them return most kindly and honourably the priests who will come. Their arrival will give me the greatest pleasure, and when I shall learn about the Law and its perfection what I wish to know, they will be at liberty to return at once as they like and I shall not let them go without leading them with honour and gifts. Therefore, let them not have the slightest fear to come. I take them under my protection. Fare you well.'

Although at first the Portuguese Viceroy hesitated, the Committee of Bishops decided on November 10, 1578, in favour of the despatch of the Mission. The Fathers selected for the service were Rodolf Aguirre, Antony Montemate, and Francis Henriquez. "Of these, Henriquez was a Persian by origin, a native of Ormuz and a convert from Islam, who was intended to help as interpreter to the Mission. Montemate, a Spaniard from Catalonia, forty-three years of age, was a true and observed man, of studious habits, and to him we owe an admirable first-hand description of the Mission and of the Mogul Court. . . . Rodolf Aguirre, the third member, and

leader of the Mission, was an Indian of high social status and of outstanding capacity.¹

The Mission started on November 12, 1579, and reached Fatagpa Sikil on February 27 or 28, 1580. "This Mission," observes Sir Edward Maitagan, "Came to Aldar's Court at a time of great interest in the development of his religious policy, and its designs have reached notice at the hands of the contemporary Indian historians, Bôlcata and Abal Fual, the former writing from the orthodox Mission standpoint and the latter from Aldar's own adherents. We have also first-hand information recorded by the members of the Mission themselves." Monsenat's *Relações* (1822) contains "the best contemporary sketch of the character and power of Aldar at the time of the Mission and the *Compendioso* (1590) which forms the best general account which we possess of the Mission itself."

The object of the Mission was the "glory of the Church and the benefit of Portugal." The missionaries were ambitious of converting the noblemen of "Mogor" But, as Maitagan says, "in view of the unqualified aversion addressed to Goa and the known possibilities of Aldar, it was ardently hoped that this object might be achieved through the medium of the conversion of the King. All the efforts of the Mission were therefore at the first concentrated on the King himself. Royal converts were not unknown in the Indies — a near relation of Bôlcata had been baptized at Goa shortly after Father Rodolf's arrival from Europe. There was therefore nothing impossible or fantastic in the scheme of the Mission and, as the Jesuits were admittedly the Order best fitted to deal with such cases, the Mission commenced with well-founded hopes of success."²

Aldar received the members of the Mission very cordially. "On arrival they were offered large sums of money, and granted much consideration by their school to accept more than was necessary for subsistence. They were accepted quarters in the palace. They were given food from the royal table, and, when Maccoracac was ill, the King proceeded to visit him and greeted him as Portuguese. In personal interviews with the King the Fathers were treated with special courtesy. 'He never allowed them,' says

1. Maitagan: *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 24.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

Monserrate, "to remain unwearied in his presence; both at the solemn meetings of the synods and in private interviews when he would take them aside for private colloquy, he would tell them to sit near him. He would shake hands with them most familiarly and would call them apart from the body of ordinary witnesses to confalg with them in private conversation. More than once, in public he walked a short distance with Rudolf, his arm round Rudolf's neck. . . . This familiarity encouraged the Fathers to speak to him venaciously on faults in his regime or his conduct . . . 'moderately however and not without first ascertaining what mood he was in' .

The King, as above, allowed them every liberty and even permitted them to preach and convert people. 'His Majesty' says Barthol, 'ordered Prince Murad to take a few lessons in Christianity under good auspices and charged Abu-I-Fauz to translate the Gospel.' During the Akbar campaign Father Monserrate was allowed to accompany the King, and we have accordingly from the Father's pen an intimate and detailed account of Akbar's career, his hopes, the totems through which he passed, his advances beyond the Indus, and his final triumphant entry into Kalbat—a document, as Madagasin points out, which no future historian of Akbar can fail to utilize. 'The King,' says Monserrate, 'intended . . . but not to appear drawn to the Christian faith: he pretended sometimes to be occupied with other things. At the same time he did not fail to honour and love publicly the image of Christ.' At this attitude of Akbar the Fathers got disappointed, and even declared, 'Giving the pearls of the Gospel to the King was exposing them to be trampled and trodden under foot.' The Provincial at Goa, accordingly bade them return, but at the same time left them the discretion to stay on if that would serve any purpose.

Akbar was loth to part with the Fathers, but Monserrate left him under the pretext of leading an embassy from Akbar to Philip II, King of Spain. Rudolph Aquaviva, who was more hopeful remained at Padshah for some time longer. His letter to the General of the Society of Jesus is valuable as revealing the hopes and delusions of the Christians:—

'Think' he wrote, 'the Emperor is in a more hopeful state than heretofore: he desires to know our Faith and attends to it with greater

displays that, at first, shewing much affection towards, though imper-
ments are not also lacking, and the love and familiarity, with which
he tries to have nothing to be desired. (2) We hope to see some from
from the Emperor's second son, Fakhri, a boy of sixteen years of age,
who is learning the Portuguese language and therefore the things relating
to our Faith, and who shows himself well disposed towards and who is
of great natural genius and has good inclinations. Father Mosenzani
was his teacher and now I am. (3) We have discovered a new nation of
heathens called Dorian (Tibetans) which is beyond Lahore towards the
river Indus, a nation very well inclined and given to good works. There
are Christians, and Mohammedans do not live among them, therefore
hope that if they convert, Fathers are not distant, a great harvest of other
heathens may be reaped. (4) There is here an old man, the father of
the Emperor's secretary, in whom he confides in matters of Faith. He has
left the world and is of great virtue and gives much to contemplation of
divine things, whom he appears desirous to receive in the light of our
Faith. He is very friendly to us and refers to our Faith and we have al-
ready visited him several times at his house with much consolation. (5)
Where we are is the true India, and this reason is that a ladder which
leads to the greatest part of Asia, and now that the Society has obtained
a footing and is so favoured by so great an Emperor and by his sons,
it seems not fitting to leave it before trying all possible means to con-
vert the conversion of the continent of India; seeing that all that
had to be done has been nearly on 'the sea-coast.'

In spite of all these hopes, the reports of Father Mosenzani
were not encouraging, and Father Rudoff was also finally recalled
by the Provincial at Goa. In February 1655, he left Aithar car-
rying with him an appreciative epistle to the following effect:—

'God be great. Parents of Beloved Son, Muhammad Aithar Pishidh
Ghalib. With regard to what he (the Provincial) wrote to me about
sending home Father Rudoff,—now I like very much the Book of the
Thousand Names, and desire to discover the truth of it, with the aid of
his skill to find out the meanings of those who have written in the past.
Therefore I have much love for the Father, and, considering that he
is wise and versed in the laws, I desire to have him every hour in con-
sultation with me, and for this reason I refuse him the permission, but
on Your Paternity asked it me by letter several times, I did so, and gave
him the permission; and as my intention is that our friendship should
go on increasing more and more day by day, it behoves Your Paternity
to labour on your side towards preserving it, by sending Rudoff back
to me with some other Father, and I wish this with least possible delay;
for I desire that the Fathers of this Order be with me, because I like
them much. And to the Father I said many things by word of mouth,
for him to report them to Your Paternity, which Your Paternity will
consider well. Done in the name of the month of February 1655.'

Father Rudolph, however, met with an unexpected Allah and martyrdom. On the 27th July (N. S.), 1583, he was killed together with four companions by a frenzied mob of Hindus at Canim, near Goa. In 1585 Rudolph was beatified by the Church and is now known as the Blessed Rudolph Aquaviva. Aibat, when he heard of this untimely end of the Father, exclaimed: 'Ah me, Father! Did I not tell you not to go away? But you would not listen to me.' He loved him, says Minervino, not because he himself wished to become a Christian, but because he recognised the intense conviction of the Father in the truth of his own religion and his desire to bring others to his own way of life. Thus ended the First Jesuit Mission to the Court of Aibat.¹

In 1590 Aibat for a second time married his intercourse with the Christians at Goa. This time he found a learned Jesuit. Goa's sub-dean named Leo Grimon in duty his message to the Provincial: "On this occasion," so ran the Emperor's *Parvula* addressed to his various provincial officers, who were asked to give safe conduct to the Christian envoy, "I am summoning the most learned and most virtuous of the Fathers that they may help me to a true knowledge of the Christian law and of the royal highways by which they travel to the presence of God. I, therefore, command my officers aforesaid to bestow great honour and favour both on Don Leo Grimon and on the Fathers for whom I am sending . . ." To the Fathers of the Society, he wrote:—

"In the name of God, The exalted and indefatigable Aibat to those who are in God's grace and have gained of His Holy Spirit and to those that are obedient to the Spirit of the Missions and lead men to God. I say to you learned Fathers, whose words are tantamount to those of men raised above the world, who have left the pomp and honours of earth: Fathers who walk by the true way: I would have your *Extremum Unge* that I have knowledge of all the truths of the world both of various kinds of heathens and of the Mohammedans, were that of Jesus Christ which is from God and is such recognised and followed by many. Now in that I feel great inclination to the knowledge of the Fathers, I desire that I may be taught by them the Christian law. There has recently come to my Court and royal palace one Don Leo Grimon, a person of great merit and good discourse, whom I have questioned on various matters, and who has answered well to the satisfaction of myself and my doctors. He has assured me that there are in India (Portuguese) several

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-40.

Product of great industry and learning, and it thus be so, your Excellency will be able, immediately on receiving my letter, to send some of them to my Court with all confidence, so that in disputation with me, sooner I may compare their several learning and character, and see the superiority of the Fathers over my doctors. And also by this means may be taught to know the truth. If they will remain in my Court, I shall build them such lodgings that they may live in greater honour and freedom than any Father who has, up to this time, in this country and when they wish to leave I shall let them depart with honour. This should therefore, be as I am of you in this letter. Witness in the neighbourhood of the month of June.¹

The Provincial, accordingly, sent two Portuguese Fathers, Gabriel Lobo (Lobo) and Christopher de Vega, with an assistant, who were received in Lisbon in 1581. The Provincial's report to his Superior dated November 1581, mentions, 'The embassy induced many, not only of the Fathers, but also of the students, to apply to be sent on the Mission, and three were chosen for the purpose two Fathers and a companion who reached the Emperor's Court in 1582, and were received with great kindness. Every kind of favour was shown to them in the palace itself, necessities were supplied, and a school was started in which the sons of nobles and the Emperor's own sons (Miguel and Diogo) and grandsons (Kafar) were taught to read and write Portuguese.

'But when the Fathers saw that the Emperor had not decided as they expected, they proposed to return to Goa, but were forbidden by me not to do so. . . . And as the conversion of the Emperor to the Catholic Faith is a matter of the greatest moment, it is necessary to proceed skillfully and judiciously in the matter.'

But, as Smith observes, 'No pointed record explains now, why, or exactly when the Mission came to an abrupt conclusion. Its members were recalled and returned to Goa, at some time in 1582. The suspicious were justified that the Fathers selected were not in all respects the right persons for the task entrusted to them, and that they might have been somewhat ill-tempered.'² Thus closed the Second Mission like the First, in disappointment and failure.

In 1584 Albuquerque, for the third time, desired the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa to send a party of learned Christians

¹ Third, Joseph Museum from Goa

to him. The message was conveyed by an American Christian. But the Provincial, being

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-7.

2. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-25.

very much disappointed by the results of the first two missions was not inclined to comply with the request. The Viceroy, however, thought differently. He hoped for "good results not merely of a religious but also of a political character" so it was finally decided to send a Mission.

Father Jerome Xavier, a grand nephew of St. Francis Xavier, Father Emmanuel Pinheiro and Brother Benedict de Goa were selected by the papacy. "They were, each in his own line, men of outstanding competence." The first had won much service in India and had held positions of trust. For twenty years he was to remain at the Mughal Court, "working incessantly for the conversion of Emperors, and sometimes for the material advancement of the Portuguese."¹ In the end he too returned to Goa, and died there in June 1627. The second, according to Macdugan, "seems to have been the first of the Jesuits in Mogul to turn his attention seriously to the people rather than the Court."² He remained for many years at Lihore as pointer of a large congregation, and at the same time enjoyed much favour and influence with Akbar. He returned to Goa in 1615, and only four years later "he departed hence to a better Mission." Brother Benedict seemed little interested in the Court of the Mughals, and distinguished himself by undertaking a Mission from Lihore to China, in 1603. He died there in 1604.

On December 3, 1594, the party left Goa, taking six Dandals to Canbay, and thence they proceeded through the desert of Rajpootana, and after five months reached Lihore on May 5, 1595. From this time to the death of Akbar, in 1606, there are two batches of Jesuit letters giving valuable information. The Indian sources for this period are scanty, and throw little light on the subject of Akbar's relations with the Christians. Badkhar's account stops with 1595 and Abul Fazl's with 1602. Father Jerome Xavier, the head of the Mission, was in attendance on Akbar all the last ten years of the Emperor's life. He also accompanied Akbar during his Deccan campaign.

Like its predecessor, the Mission was also well received at Lihore. Father Pinheiro writes in his letter of September 1595, "Both Emperor and Prince (Salim) favoured us and treated us

1. Macdugan, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

3. *Ibid.*

with much kindness and I observed that he paid to some of his own people as much attention as he paid to us, for he desired us to sit us down upon the cushions on which he and the Prince alone are wont to sit.' On the 26th August the same year, Father Jerome Xavier also wrote: 'He [Aldar] received us publicly with great honour and kindness and whenever he sees us he manifests the same civility towards us and has us near him among the chief lords of the Court. . . . He has images of our Lord Christ and of the Blessed Virgin which are of the best kind of those which are brought from Europe and he keeps them with respect and reverence. He evinces the greatest pleasure in showing them to others, bringing them so near for a long time in spite of fatigue which their size entails. . . . He sent us very costly gold and silk clothes, wherewith his servants handsomely adorned our chapel. . . . The Emperor gave us leave to bring together as many as might so with to the church of Christ.'

He allowed them to start a school which was attended by the sons of some of the Hereditary Princes and those of the Chief of Baidakhtala. Two of these pupils agreed to become Christians and one even wished to be admitted to Orders. The question of a site for a church at Lithore was mooted and a church was ultimately built. It was opened in 1597 while Aldar was in Kishinev and the Governor of the city attended in person, remaining for some two hours conversing with Father Pinheiro in his house. At the following Christmas, Brother Benedict de Goes prepared a sacred Orb which was much admired. The Royal Princes followed Aldar's example in their attention to the Father and one of them went so far as to present large candles to be burnt in honour of Christ and the Virgin, accompanying his gift with liberal alms for the poor. The her apparent himself, Prince Salim, became the firm friend and protector of the Mission.¹

When Aldar went to Kishinev in May, as above referred to, he took with him both Father Xavier, and Brother Goes. They stayed till November 1597. During their stay a great famine raged in the valley, and the Father baptised many orphans that had been left in the streets to die. After their return, both the Father and Brother suffered for about two months from fever. They had spent altogether

¹ Ibid., p. 34.

over two and a half years at the Court of Akbar with no encouraging result, so far as their main purpose was concerned. In 1593 the King of Spain wrote to his Viceroy at Goa that, although the Fathers had not yet produced any fruit, the Mission should not be allowed to expire, and ordered that, if the Fathers should die or have to be recalled, their places should be filled. "The fruit," he wrote, "which has hitherto not shown itself, may appear whenever God pleases, and when human hopes are perhaps the smallest." But the Fathers got disappointed with Akbar's attitude. Akbar explained to them earnestly that, whereas former rulers would have tried to suppress them, he had allowed them every liberty in his dominions.

The Fathers accompanied Akbar during his southern campaign. When found himself confronted with the difficult task of Ahrghar, Akbar asked the Jesuits to procure the assistance of the Portuguese authorities at Goa. But Xavier refused on the plea that such action was contrary to the *Cánones Juris*. De Jorio, however, points out that the Father must also have been influenced by the fact that the *Kabulshahi* forces against whom Akbar was fighting were in alliance with the Portuguese.¹ This, therefore, enraged Akbar against the Jesuits whose objection seemed to him mere casuistry. For a time, until his wrath subsided, the Fathers withdrew from his presence.

Ahrghar fell in January 1601. The Jesuits have given their own account of some of its details. "Whatever the truth as regards these incidents may be," says MacLagan, "the main point of interest in the Jesuits was that when the fort fell seven Portuguese officers, who were captured among the defenders and were about to be subjected to cruel treatment, were at Father Xavier's request, handed over to him and won by him over to Christianity."² Then Father Pinheiro arrived from Lisbon, and he with Father Xavier went into the presence of the King who received them with much kindness, laying his hand on Pinheiro's shoulder ("which he does not do save to his great captains and his special favorites"). Akbar returned to Agra in May 1601 together with Fathers Xavier and Pinheiro.

Before his return, however, he had sent an embassy to Goa for the fourth time, but only for a secular purpose. In his letter dated 29 March, 1600, Akbar requested, not for prayers, but for a political

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-8.

2. *Ibid.*, 38.

silence) scaled crests, precious stones, etc. The Portuguese authorities exhibited all their munitions to the ambassador and fired a demonstration salvo out of their heavy ordnance, but nothing more came out of the embassy.

In the following year, with the arrival of two other missionaries, Coa, and Machado, the Jesuit Fathers at the Moghal Court formed a sort of College or monastery. Now they succeeded in securing from Akbar, despite much opposition, notably from Mirza Asir Koldi, a written sanction under the Royal Seal expressly permitting each of his subjects as desirous to embrace Christianity to do so without let or hindrance. Fifty Portuguese captives, who were held in ransom by Akbar, were also released and well treated by the intervention of the Fathers. "My lord", said Xarnes, "you have liberated fifty captives and in so doing have made fifty thousand Portuguese your servants."

In spite of these facilities, the Portuguese Fathers suffered much hostility from some of the orthodox Muslim nobles, but even particularly an account of the intrigues of other Europeans who were now gathering at the Court of the Grand-Moghal. Consequently, in 1608, when Akbar lay on his death-bed, the Jesuits were not allowed to be by his side. Their account of the happening is thus given by Guerrero and de Jarnet :—

"The Fathers, who had full information of the King's sickness, went on a Saturday to see him on the hope that he would hear the words which, after long thought and having recommended the matter to God, they had prepared for this hour. But they found him amongst his Captains, and he so cheerful and merry a mood, that they deemed the time unsuitable for speaking to him of the end of this life, and desired to wait another opportunity. They came away, fully persuaded that he was making good progress. On the Monday following, however, it was reported on all sides that . . . His Majesty was dying. On hearing this the Fathers went to the palace; but they could find no one who could guide their arrival thence to the King, or dare to speak to him of them, for already such matters were now in the hands of the great nobles, that of the King himself; and hence every means by which the Fathers tried to gain entrance was ineffective."¹

1. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 161.

Direct intercourse between England and India began as early as October 1579 when Father Thomas Stevens, a Jesuit from Orizaba, arrived in Goa. He remained there for forty years, studied Konkani, wrote its grammar, and also a book of verses containing 11,600 examples of high literary merit. His letters to England stimulated much interest in that country about India. Consequently, in 1581, a company of English merchants started with a Charter from Elizabeth, and two years later sent John Newbery, a London merchant, on the first British mercantile adventure to India. William Lauder, a jeweller, and James Story, a painter, and Ralph Froch, another London merchant, accompanied Newbery. At Goa they were imprisoned as heretics and obtained release on bail, with considerable difficulty, owing to the good offices of Father Stevens. James Story alone was welcomed by the Jesuits as an artist capable of painting their Church. He settled down in Goa, married a half-caste girl, opened a shop, and gave up all thought of returning to Europe. His three companions escaped secretly, visited Belgium, Naples, Genoa, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Madrid, and went to Agre, the Mikah and Algiers, "passing many rivers, which by reason of the rains were so swollen that we ended and began our journey for our lives." Froch was the only member of this party to return to Europe; he reached London in 1591. The others were never heard of again.

Froch has left some interesting impressions of his visit to Portugal, Agre, and Agre.—"Agre," he writes, "is a very great city and populous, built with stone, having fairs and large streets, with a large river running by it, which falls into the gulf of Bengala. It hath a fair market and a strong, with a very fair ditch. Here be many Moors and Gentiles, the king is called Schahdin (Jahangir). He is called by the people for the most part him the great Mogul."

"From thence we went for Falgona, which is the place where the king kept his court. The town is greater than Agre, but the houses and streets be not so fair. Here dwell many people both Moors and Gentiles. (Mahammedans and Hindis).

"The king hath in Agre and Falgona as they doe credibly report 1,600 elephants, thirte thousand horses, 1,400 tame deers, 800 camels; such store of Curons (sheep), Tigers, Buffles

(buffaloes kept for fighting), Cows and Hens, that is very strange to see.

"He kept a great Court, which they call Darshan.

"Agra and Fatepore are two very great cities, either of them much greater than London and very populous.¹ Between Agra and Fatepore are 12 miles (now 4-48 miles) and all the way is a market of victuals and other things, as full as though a man were still in a town, and as many people as if a man were in a market.

"They have many fine caries, and many of them carved and gilded with gold, with two wheels, which he draws with two little Bulls about the bigness of our great dogs in England. Hither a great number of merchants from Persia and out of India, and very much merchandise of silk and cloth, and of precious stones, both Rubies, Diamonds and Pearls. The king is apparelled in white Cloths, made like a short bed with strings on the one side, and a little cloth on his head coloured often times with red or yellow. He comes into his house but his eunuchs which keep his women."²

The next Englishman to come to India was John Milesendall or Midcall, who bore a letter from Queen Elizabeth to Akbar, requesting liberty to trade in his dominions on terms as good as those enjoyed by the Portuguese. No text of the letter is extant (Milesendall) who was a merchant, sailed from London on February 12, 1598. He made his way to Lisbon, early in 1601, by the land route via Kandahar. He brought to the Emperor 36 good horses, some of which cost £50 or 60 each. He stated his mission before the council of ministers, and also asked the Emperor not to take offence if the English should capture Portuguese ships or ports on his coasts. Some days later Akbar presented him with gifts worth 4500 which put the Jewels "in an exceeding great rage." They began to denounce Englishmen as thieves and spies. In six months time "the Jewels brought over Akbar's two principal ministers with letters of at least 2500 each, and entered away the Armenian interpreter of the Jewry, who was obliged to work hard studying Persian for six months in order to be able to speak for himself"³. When Akbar

1. The population of London in 1580 was 123,034, and 152,478 between 1585-9. The population of Fatepore (Del), according to Smith, may have been about 200,000 in 1585.—Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 158, n. 2.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 159-9.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 160.

based the case against the Jews, he presented a petition to Middenhall. "The discontent of the Jewish," says Smith, "must have taken place in August or September 1885, after the introduction of the Salim and shortly before Akbar's fatal attack, which began late in September."¹

Middenhall's negotiations perhaps were responsible for the decision taken a few years later to send Sir Thomas Roe as the duly accredited ambassador of James I. Not until August 1608, however, did the first English vessel, *Proctor*, call at the port of Surat. The Englishmen who visited India during Akbar's lifetime were only pioneers unconscious of the great good fortune which lay in store for their country in the future.

The Dutch had come to India, but they confined their activities to the shores of India and never dared to visit either the Court or the capital of Akbar.

CHAPTER VI

REORGANIZATION OF THE EMPIRE

'I take the measure of their cities and creeds,
'I see them working as they will, I reap
No revenue from the field of unbeliefs
'I call from every faith and race the best
And harvest well for conqueror and friend'

TERENCE. *ADAM'S DREAM*.

Those that take up the sword can have only one justification, *viz.*, seeking, not merely extension of dominion, but also the welfare of the people coming under their sway. Sher Shah had tried to rule according to this principle, and though Providence had given him no worthy heir to ensure its continuance, his good work did not perish with him. Akbar carried to perfection, so far as it was possible for his genius to accomplish, the policy which the energy of his father had inaugurated. He strove to achieve what might be called the true aim of a benevolent autocracy. In the words of Alim Fud, 'It is universally agreed that the salient accomplishments are the reformation of the manners of the people, the *advancement of agriculture*, the regulation of the officers, and the

1. *Ibid.*, p. 304.



Sketch by Mrs. F. H. Anderson

KUSHAN EMPIRE IN 100 AD

discipline of the army. And these desirable ends are not to be attained without studying to please the people, joined with good management of finances, and an exact economy in the management of the State. But when all these are kept in view, every class of people enjoys prosperity." Akbar sought to achieve these ends, and his administration, as Mordant has pointed out, was "sincerely practical." A chief or ruler who submitted and agreed to pay a reasonable revenue, therefore, was commonly allowed to retain his portion of authority. His administrative system nevertheless, favoured the direct contact between the State and the individual peasant, the management and collection of revenue being controlled from the centre, and the officers having to account in detail for all receipts. It was as if a centralised treasury acting through a bureaucratic machinery, all the strings of the government were in the Emperor's own hands and controlled by him directly. Yet, for the sake of administrative convenience, there were the usual Departments—Military, Revenue, Justice and Religion. Prof. (Sir) J. H. Sarkar has given the following description of them in his *Mughal Administration* :—

1. Central Government

The chief Departments of the Mughal administration, were :

1. The *Baroque* and Revenue (under the High *Shah*.)
2. The Imperial Household (under the *Khair-i-Mahar*.)
3. The Military Pay and Accounts Office (under the Imperial *Amir*.)
4. Canon Law, both Civil and Criminal (under the Chief *Qadi*.)
5. Religious Endowments and Charity (under the Chief *Sadr*.)
6. Censorship of Public Morals (under the *Madrash*.)

In *addition* to these, but ranking almost like the Departments, were :

1. The *Attorney* (under the *Shah* *Asaf* or *Baroque* *Amir*.)
2. Intelligence and Posts (under the *Director of Salt-stores*.)

The *responsible* *Baroque* (i. e., *Baroque* and *Shah*), each under a *Director* or *superintendent*, were not Departments. Most of them were under the *Khair-i-Mahar*.

1. Mordant, *Life of the Death of Akbar*, pp. 7 and 24.

1. *The Chancellor* / The highest officer next to the Emperor was called the *Wazir* or *Vakil*. He was the Prime Minister or Chancellor of the Empire, and under the later Mughals he exercised executive authority, like the Masters of the Palace in medieval France, or the *Pandits* in India. He was always the *Diwan* as well, and in this capacity, the head of the Revenue Department. Like every great officer of the Mughal Government, he was expected to command an army, and often did lead a short expedition: but the necessity of his constant attendance on the Emperor prevented him from taking charge of military operations for a long time or at a distance from the Imperial camp. 'Thus, in its origin the *Wazir's* post was a civil one, and his assumption of the supreme military direction was abnormal and a mark of Imperial decadence.'

2. *The *Dahsh* or Pay-Master* :—Almost all officers of any rank being employed, at least in theory, as military commanders, their salaries were calculated in terms of the contingents under them and paid by the Pay-Master of the Army. This officer at a later time was called the *Mir* or *Jir* *Dahsh* when he had under him three others, respectively called the Second, Third, and Fourth *Dahsh*.

3. *The *Khair-i-mahfil* or High Steward* :—This important officer was the head of the Imperial household. According to Mirans, 'He had charge of the whole expenditure of the royal household in reference to both great and small things.'¹ All the personal staff of the Emperor was under his control, and he also supervised the Emperor's daily expenditure (i. e., food, tents, stores, etc.) Other *Wazirs* were chosen from among the *Khair-i-mahfil*.

4. *The *Qil'at-qandi* or Chief Judge* :—This 'Qid of the Imperial Camp', as he was also designated, made all the appointments of local *qids* in various parts of the Empire.

5. *The *Sadr-us-sadr* or Chief Sadr* :—This officer was the Chief Civil Judge and Supervisor of the Endowments of land made by the Emperor or Prince, for the support of pious men, scholars, and monks. 'It was his duty to see that such grants were applied to the right purpose and also to scrutinise applications for fresh

1. Selim, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 212.

2. *Ibid.*, op. cit., p. 212.

states... The *Sadr* was also the Emperor's almoner and had the spending of the vast sums which the Emperors set apart for charity in the month of Ramadan and other holy occasions,—amounting to 1½ lakhs of rupees in the reign of Aurangzeb, and at least one-lakh.¹ Like the Chief Qazi, he also made the appointments of the local *Sadr*. For this post, men of the best Arabic scholarship and sanctity of life were selected.²

6. *Makdûm or Censor of Public Morals*.—His duties were to see that Muslims led lives according to the Prophet's commands, and did not engage in forbidden things. A part of the instructions issued to the censor ran:—'In the cities do not permit the sale of intoxicating drinks, nor the residence of 'professional women' (dancing girls), as it is opposed to the Sacred Law. Give good counsel and warning to those who violate the Quasidic precepts. Do not show harshness (at first), for then they would give you trouble. First send advice to the leaders of these people, and if they do not listen to you, then report the case to the Governor.'³

II PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

'The administrative agency in the provinces of the Muslim Empire,' observes Sartan, 'was an exact miniature of that of the Central Government.' The Governor was officially called the *Mîlîk*, but popularly known as the *Sâhibdâr*. The administration was concentrated at the provincial capital. Touch with the villages was maintained by (i) the *muallîm*, (ii) the revenue collectors, (iii) *amîl*'s visits to the *Sâhibdâr*, and (iv) the tour of the *Sâhibdâr* himself. But in spite of all this the villagers led their own peaceful life under their local *panchayat* administration, undisturbed for the most part by what took place in the rest of the world.

The duties of the principal provincial officers were as follows:—

1. The *Sâhibdâr*: His chief function was to maintain order in his province, to assist the collection of revenue, and to execute the Imperial *farman* sent to him. He also collected the tribute due from the vassal princes in the neighbourhood of his jurisdiction. The instruction issued to a new *sâhibdâr*, though they lack the records of perfection, were:

1. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-1.

He ought to keep all claims of men pleased by good behaviour, and to see that the strong may not oppress the weak. He should keep all the appointed ones . . . the *shih-shih* should take care to recommend only worthy officials for promotion . . . and every month send two dispatches to Court by *shih-shan* reporting the occurrence of the provinces.

When you are appointed, you should engage a good *shih-shih*—a trust-worthy and experienced man who has already done work in the service of some high grade—*and* a *seu-shih* (secretary) with similar ability and experience. You should name a trustworthy *shih-shih* or friend (*tsou-fu*) at Court to report promptly to the Emperor and take his orders on any affairs of the province on which you may write to His Majesty.

¹ Encourage the *tyen* to extend the cultivation and carry on agriculture with all their heart. Do not waste everything out of them. Remember that the *tyen* are permanent (i.e., the only permanent source of income to the State). Compare the *shih-shih* with parents, it is cheaper to keep them in hand than those to replace them with troops.²

3 The Provincial *Shan*. He was the second officer in the province, and 'the rival of the *shih-shih*'. The two kept a jealous and strict watch over each other. The provincial *Shan* was appointed by the Imperial officer of the same name, and was in constant correspondence with him. He was specially charged to increase the cultivation and select only honest men for the post of *shih-shih*. Twice every month he was to report to the High *Shan* the occurrence of the *shih-shih*, with a statement of the cash balance with him. 'The *Shan* was specially urged to appoint as collectors (*shih-shih* and *shih-shih*) practical men who were likely to induce the *tyen* to pay the *government-duty* of their own accord, without the necessity of resorting to harshness or chastisement' (*Ming-shi*, 13-14). The usual of appointment was:

¹ Cause the extension of cultivation and habitation in the villages. Watch over the Imperial treasury, that nobody may draw any money without due warrant. When the money is paid into the treasury from the chests of the *shih-shih* and other sources, give receipts (*tsun-shan*) to their agents. See that no official (*shih-shih*) exacts any *shih-shih* cost (*shih-shih*).

² At the end of every agricultural season ascertain from the original (*tsun-shan*) papers the extension and population of the *Shan* and reserve for the Imperial treasury whatever may be due from them to this account. Report *tsun-shan* or *shih-shih* duty to Government (i.e., to the High *Shan*) so that better men may be appointed to replace them.

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

"If any land has its owners (of revenue) accumulate for many years you should collect the due amount from the villages in question by way of instalments at the rate of 5 per cent. every season. The interest has given last year by Government should be reduced in the last season at the present year. If they fail to pay or delay payment, Government will exempt the *Shikhs* and the order to make the amount good. Send the papers of your Department to the Imperial Board Office according to the regulations."¹

3. *The Jevildir* : The *Jevildir* were assistants of the *Sakals* in the maintenance of peace and the discharge of all his executive duties. Each *Jevildir* was in charge of a division or *diviyeh* of the province. The following instructions were issued to them:—

A *Jevildir* should be brave and pious in dealing with his subjects. He should make in his courtyard of wood retainers only men of known bravery and good family. . .

'Keep up your practice in the handling of all weapons of war, in hunting and in riding horses, so to keep yourself as a fit candidate and to be able to take the field promptly (when called upon to march to a scene of disturbance). Be justice to the oppressed. (Manual, 34-35).

Destroy the form of lawless men and rebel chiefs in the last season of punishing them. Guard the roads, protect the revenue papers. Assist and give (immediate) support to the possibilties (agents) of the *shahids* (in the case of military help) and the *khans* (in the case of Government) at the time of collecting the revenue.

Forbid the *Makhams* to manufacture weapons. Upon the *shahids* (men in command of the troops or smaller areas within a *shahid*), whom you appointed under yourself, to take complete possession of their charges, to abstain from displacing the people from their rightful property and from having any dealings one (between)."²

4. *The Khatib* : The *Khatib* was the most important of the local officers. He was a man of all work, from the inspection of prisoners to the observance of the *Edict* era and the various festivals by the people; from the maintenance of the safety of the roads to the regulation of the markets; from the inspection of weights and measures to the prevention of war, and even wonderful extravagance by private individuals, 'because when a man spends in excess of his income it is certain that he is doing something wrong.' He was also charged to keep records of the houses and individuals in his jurisdiction, to keep an eye over visitors and strangers coming in and going out, to maintain a body of informers to keep in touch with the daily and hourly happenings, etc., etc. No wonder there:

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

2. *Ibid.* pp. 63-64.

know, Abad-Pad lays down "The appropriate person for this office should be vigorous, experienced, active, deliberate, patient, strict, and humane." His duties are then described in the *Ami Abad* —

"Through his watchfulness and night-patrolling the officers should secure the repose of security, and the well-disposed be in the slough of non-activity. He should keep a register of houses, and frequent roads, and engage the officers in a pledge of reciprocal assistance, and bind them in a common participation of weal and woe. He should form a quarter by the union of a certain number of habitations, and name one of his intelligent subordinates for its superintendence, and receive a daily report under his seal of those who enter or leave it, and of whatever events threaten it. And he should appoint in a city one among the citizens residents with whom the others should have no acquaintance, and keeping their reports in writing, register a faithful version. . . . He should minutely observe the income and expenditure of the various classes of men, and by a careful audit, make the expenses report known on his administration. Of every guild of artisans, he should name one as a guild-master, and another as broker, by whose intelligence the business of purchase and sale should be conducted. From them he should require frequent reports. When the night is a little advanced, he should prohibit people from entering or leaving the city. He should set the ale to some household. He should discover thieves and the goods they have stolen or be responsible for the loss. He should so direct that no one shall demand a tax, or owe one on corn, elephants, horses, cattle, camels, sheep, goats and merchandise. In every month a slight impost shall be levied at an appointed place. Of even should be given so to be melted down or assigned to the treasury as heath. He should value no situation as the value of the gold and silver run of the scales, and no discrimination by war in circulation he shall recover to the value of the deficiency. He should use no alteration in the valuation of prices, and not allow portents to be made outside the city. The rich shall not take beyond what is necessary for their subsistence. He shall examine the weights and make the air not more or less than 30 *Alas*. In the year he should permit neither decrease nor increase, and restrain the people from the making the dispensing the buying or selling of wine, but release pain involving the privacy of domestic life. Of the property of a deceased or missing person who may have no heir, he shall take an inventory and keep it in his care. He should receive separate houses and walls for men and women. He should appoint persons of respectable character to supply the public water-courses; and prohibit women from riding on horseback. He should direct that no ox or buffalo or horse, or camel be slaughtered, and forbid the mutilation of personal liberty and the selling of slaves. He should not suffer a woman to be burnt against her inclination, nor a criminal showing of death. It be impaled, nor any one to be circumcised under the age of twelve, etc. etc."

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-65.

2. *Jurisdiction*, i, pp. 61-2.

3. *News Reporters*.—There were four kinds of news-reporters: (i) *senior scribes*; (ii) the *news-scribes*; (iii) the *single-scribes*; and (iv) the *heralds*. The first was the regular reporter posted with the army, in the provinces, and in all the towns; the latter were appointed, either occasionally or regularly, to make sure that *senior-scribes* were correct news. The news letters were sent to the *Shingho-fok* circuit, i.e., Superintendents of Posts and Intelligence, who handed them over to the *Wai* to be placed before the Emperor.¹ There were four classes of public intelligencers acted under the orders of this *Shingho* who was their official superior and protector. Sometimes an estate governor would publicly insult or beat the local news-writer for a report against himself and then the *Shingho* would take up the cause of his subordinate, and get the offending governor punished.² The arrangement was that 'senior should be sent once a week, *senior* twice, and the *senior* of *heralds* once' (¹ a month) and the dispatches in cylinders (*sen*) from the *sen* and the *sen* twice every month, in addition to report letters (which are to be reported immediately).³

4. *Revenue Collectors*.—(i) The *Krai* or 'collector of State dues' was the real collector of revenue. The arrangement was first introduced by Akbar (*ibid.* i, p. 11), and required an officer in charge of a district which was expected to yield a revenue of one *Krai* of *Dah* ($\frac{1}{2}$ *hikis* of *repa*). Later on the name was applied even to other collectors of state dues like the *sen* of *gaj* or collection of markets. The *sen* of appointment read:—

'Collect the revenue season by season as assessed by the *sen*, and pay it to the *sen*. With the advice of the *sen* and *sen*, carefully deposit the money in the Imperial treasury, giving a receipt for it to the *sen*. Send to the Government Record Office your abstract of accounts and statements of income and disbursements and other papers, as laid down in the regulations.' The regulations were:—

'The *sen* ought to entertain a body of *sen* (*sen*) proportionate to his jurisdiction and collect the revenue without negligence and at the right time. He should not demand money (the state due is only a kind) from places not yet capable of paying, but their *sen* should rise step by step. He should urge his subordinates not to violate anything in virtue of the regulations, but he should in the end be subject to similar

1. *Shingho* *sen* *sen*, p. 71.

2. *ibid.*, p. 75.

(comparison of accounts with a view to detect pilferage). He should be honest. (*Manual*, p. 66.)¹

[c] *The Amil and the Qiswari*. The Amil, as his name implies, was an umpire between the State demanding revenue and the individual peasant paying the same. According to the *Manual of the Duties of Officers*, 'The amil's work is to cause the kingdom to be cultivated'. Before the season of cultivation, he should take from the Qiswaris the preceding ten years' papers of the revenue with the *liveli*, *chawharis*, *qiswaris* and *amshadars*, inquire into the condition of the villages, as regards their [cultivable] area and the actual number of ploughs, compare the area given in the papers of the qiswari with the real area and if the two did not agree, call upon the qiswari to explain, and censure the headman (in the case of shortage). Then enquire whether the existing ploughs are sufficient for the cultivation of the village. If not, then grant *taqas* (agricultural loans).—for the purchase of oxen and seeds, taking bonds from the headman for the recovery of the loan with the first instalment of the next year's revenue, and indemnity-bonds from the *liveli* that they would reduce the loan with the first instalment of the next year.

The Qiswari was the living dictionary of the *qisdis* or regulations regarding land. He kept registers of the sales, leases, sales, and transfers of lands, reporting deaths and mutations of revenue-payers, and explaining when required, local practices and public regulations. The *Manual* states, 'The Emperor's business goes on in reliance on your papers. To your office belong the papers of division, comparison, etc. Keep two copies of the records,—one in your house and the other in your office (in charge of your good staff) so that one at least may be saved in case of fire or flood.'²

The *Ala-I-Albert* relates, 'In the fortieth year of the Divine

Era, His Majesty's dominions consisted of one hundred and two Sarkars (divisions of a Sarkar subdivided into 227 townships). When the ten years' settlement (see below) of the revenue was made . . . His Majesty apportioned the Empire into twelve divisions, to each of which he gave the name of Sarkar and distinguished them by the appellation of

1. *Ibid.*, p. 66. [Read *The Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp. 209-210.]

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-8.

the tract of country or its capital city. These were Alnabald, Agni Gadh, Agner, Alnabadatal, Bahr, Bengul, Delhi, Kahr, Lahr, Mahr, Mahr, and when Bahr, Bhandah, and Alnabagar were conquered, their number was fixed at fifteen.¹ This is followed by a detailed description of the provinces, their boundaries, administration, products, etc.

III Akbar's Revenue System

Land Revenue was the principal source of income to the Empire. The other sources of Imperial revenue were customs, mint, agriculture, presents, monopolies, and taxation. In total, according to the *Ain*, amounted to 755 Khar of silver. The land-revenue alone (from the 12 *ahals* in 1570-80) was Rs. 20,544,000. Different systems obtained in different parts of the country before Akbar's conquest. Akbar's policy was directed towards reducing these to a common system. The task was a very difficult one. In 1570-71 Mirza Asaf Khan, Turani and Raja Todar Mal were asked to revise the land-revenue assessments according to estimates framed by local officials, and checked by ten officers at the head-quarters. "Thus, for the first time since the establishment of the Muslim power, was the local knowledge of the old hereditary revenue officials employed in determining the amount of the State demand."² In 1573, Todar

Mal made his famous systematic survey of all the lands in Gujarat, which became the basis of his later reforms known as Todar Mal's *Bandobast*.

"There is no name in modern history", says Lane-Poole, "more renowned in India to the present day than that of Todar Mal, and the reason is that nothing in Akbar's reforms more nearly touched the welfare of the people than the great financier's reconstruction of the revenue system."³ Two years later, in 1575-6, with the exception of Bengal, Bihar, and Gujarat a fresh survey was carried out, and the Empire was divided into 152 equal fiscal units each roughly yielding a revenue of a *hazir* of *ahals* (7) or Rs. 224,000. Such a unit was made the charge of an officer called the *Amal*, described above. This artificial system was too mathematically perfect to succeed in practice, and had soon to be discarded. Consequently, a fresh attempt at reform was made in 1579-80. This resulted in the

1. Edwards and Gait, *Mughal Rule in India*, p. 128.

2. Lane-Poole, *Medieval India*, p. 261.

division of the Empire into the 12 wilāhāt already referred to, and the introduction of the temporary settlement. The history of these reforms is then given in the *Shih-i-Alāhi* :—

'When Khwāhshāh Abūl Muẓaffar Aḥmad Khān was raised to the dignity of Prime Minister, the total revenue was taken at an estimation and the assessments were increased in the degree of the increase suggested. And because at that time the extent of the Empire was small and there was a general contentment among the servants of the State, the villages were assigned on the extent of cultivation and tillage. When this great office devolved on Muẓaffar Khān and Abū Tāher Mīr, in the fifth year of the reign, a redistribution of the Imperial assessment was made through the village-men and estimating the produce of the lands they made a fresh willment. Ten village-men were appointed who selected the assessors from the provincial village-men and lodged them in the Imperial village. Although this willment was somewhat less than the preceding one, nevertheless there had been formerly a wide discrepancy between the estimates and the receipts.

When through the prudent management of the Sovereigns the Empire was enlarged in extent, it became difficult to ascertain each year the precise extent and worth of provinces was caused by the delay. On the one hand, the husbandmen complained of excessive exactions, and, on the other, the holder of assigned lands was aggrieved on account of the excessive balance. His Majesty devised a remedy for these evils and in the assessment of his work-owning vassal fixed a settlement for ten years; the people were then made contented and their gratitude was abundantly manifested. From the beginning of the 15th year of the divine era to the 24th, an aggregate of the rates of collection was formed and a sixth of the total was fixed as the annual assessment, but from the 25th to the 34th year the collections were sensibly decreased and the five thirves (was accepted as the authority of persons of position. The best crops were taken into account in each year and the year of the most abundant harvest accepted.'

This measurement of land was preceded by a reform of the units of measurement; the *guz*, the *musab* and the *dhāgh* were set and defined.¹ When His Majesty had determined the *guz*, the *musab*, and the *dhāgh*, in his profound capacity he classified the lands and fixed a different measure to be paid by each.

'*Falyā* is land which is annually cultivated for such crop as is essential and is never allowed to lie fallow. *Powāh* is land left out of culture, also for a time that it may recover its strength. *Chakār* is land that has lain fallow for three or four years. *Shayr* is land cultivated for five years and more.

1. *Shih-i-Alāhi* II, pp. 28-32.

Of the two best kinds of land there are three classes, good, middling and bad. They add together the produce of each sort, and a third of this represents the western produce, one-third part of which is assessed as the royal dues. The revenue leased by Shih Hsueh, which at the present day is represented as all proceeds as the lowest rate of assessment, generally obtained, and by the convenience of the estimation and the military, the value was taken in ready money....

His Majesty in his wisdom thus regulated the revenues as the above mentioned favorable manner. He reduced the duty on manufactures from ten to five per cent, and one per cent. was divided between the province and the village. Many imports, equal in amount to the income of Hsienkuang were received by His Majesty as a thank-offering to the Ancestry. Among these were the following:—

"The saltation tax, the post duties, the pilgrims tax, the tax on various classes of artisans, *Shengshih's* dues, *Tsai-chih's* dues, market duties, passports, fees on the sale and purchase of a horse, on salt made from saltern earth, ... in fine all these reports which the various of Hsienkuang include under the term *Shih Hsueh*, were received.

When either from excessive rent or through an inundation, the land falls out of cultivation, the *hsien* authorities pay, at first, in considerable distress. In the first year therefore but two-fifths of the produce is taken. In the second three-fifths. In the third four-fifths, and in the fifth the ordinary revenue. According to differences of situation the revenue is paid either in money or in kind. In the third year the charges of 5 per cent. and one shih for each *shih* are added."

IV THE ARMY AND FLEET

We have stated above that the interests of almost all important affairs of the Empire were entrusted by the Emperor or Pap-Master General of the Army. They were all controlled, whatever the nature of their actual duties, as military officers; and their status and emoluments were calculated in terms of the military contingents under their "Though on several occasions," observes Prof. Sackur, "we have officers invested with the title of *shih-shih* or 'commander of troops,' it was only a mark of honor and they did not command the entire Imperial army. The Emperor was the only Commander-in-Chief!"

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 49-5.

2. Read "Memoranda on *Shih's Army*" by Hsienkuang, in the *J.*

L. N., April 1906.

3. Sackur, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

Alau-d-Daula thus describes the organisation of the Imperial army—

'His Majesty guided the Imperial army by his excellent advice and counsel, and devised so various ways attempts at subordination. He has divided the army, on account of the multitude of the men, into several classes, and has thereby secured the peace of the country.' The principal grades of officers and classes of troops were (1) *Mamuldhars*; (2) *Akhais*; (3) *Siddhis*, and (4) the Infantry.

1. *Mamuldhars*. According to Alau-d-Daula, the Emperor appointed the *Mamuldhars* 'from the *Siddhis* (commander of ten) to the *Jah Khalid* (commander of ten thousand), limiting however, all commands above 500, to his august son (in addition of the highest rank).

'The monthly grain made to the *Mamuldhars* varied according to the condition of their contingents. An officer whose contingent came up to his establishment was put into the First Class of his rank; if his contingent was one half and upwards of his fixed number, he was put into the Second Class, the Third Class contained those contingents which were still less. Their salaries were as follows:—

Ranks; Command- ers of—	Monthly Salary in Rupees		
	1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.
10,000	60,000	—	—
5,000	30,000	20,000	20,000
1,000	8,000	6,100	5,000
500	2,500	2,200	2,100
100	750	600	500
10	100	50½	75

These salaries included also the expenses of the contingents maintained by each *Mamuldar*. But, as pointed out above, few *Mamuldhars* actually maintained the full complement indicating their rank. A commander of 100, if he had his full establishment, had to spend Rs. 142½; one of 1,000, Rs. 807½; and of 5,000, Rs. 10,600.

The higher *Mamuldhars* were mostly Governors of *Siddhis*. They were at first called *Siddhis*; towards the end of Akbar's reign they were known as *Shahis* and afterwards, *Sahis Sahas* or

1. *Alau-d-Daula*, I, p. 237.

Sabakshi, and still later merely Sikiak. The other Munsadars held rights which other Akbar frequently changed hands.

The contingents of the Munsadars formed the greater part of the army, and were inspected from time to time. They were paid from the central or the local treasury. Badkhat states: "Sikandar Khān, the *Mir Bakshi*, introduced the custom and rule of the *Alp-i-ashkahi* (branding of animals), which had been the rule of *Allā-ud-din Khilji* and afterwards the law under Sher Shik. It was settled that every *Ameer* should contribute as a Commander of Twenty (*khili*), and be ready with his followers to mount guard . . . and when, according to the rule, he had brought the horses of his twenty troopers to be branded, he was then to be made a *Saif* or Commander of 100 or more. They were licensed to keep elephants, horses, and camels, in proportion to their *Mansab*, according to the same rule. When they had brought to the masters their own obligations complete, they were to be promoted according to their merits and circumstances to the post of *Havildar*, *Dakhil* and even *Pur-i-havildar*, which is the highest *Mansab* (for other than Princes of the royal blood); *Bikāsh Mīrān Singh*, who held a *Mansab* of 7,000, was an exception; but if they did not do well at the masters they were to be put down."¹

2. *Akalis*.—"There were many brave and worthy persons," says Abul Fazl, "whom His Majesty does not appoint to a mansab, but whom he frees from being under the orders of any one. Such persons belong to the immediate servants of His Majesty, and are dignified by their independence. They go through the school of learning their duties, and have their knowledge tested. These were the *Akalis*."

For the sake of the convenience of the *Akalis*, a separate *Diwan* and pay-master are appointed, and one of the great *Akalis* is their chief. . . . Many *Akalis* have received more than Rs. 500 per mensem. . . . In the beginning when their rank was first established, some *Akalis* received eight *hansas*, but now the limit is five. . . . *Akalis* are mustered every five months, when on a certificate signed by the *Diwan* and the *Bakshi*, which is called *man-i-kay* *Talashah*, the clerk of the treasury writes out a *firman*, to be counter-signed by the principal *gaddis*. This the treasurer

1. *Ibid.* pp. 295-97.—Read Fazl's *Ess* *Shamsa*, "Organization of public services in Mughal India (1526-1707)" in *J. R. O. R. S.*, XXXII, 1937, pt. 2, pp. 154. Also "Rank in the Mughal State Service" by Moreland in *J. R. A. S.*, Oct. 1929; "Set Rank in the Mughal Army" by Moreland, in *J. I. H.*, Dec. 1926, and "Some Notes on Mughal Mansabs" in *C. R. R. Soc. Sahib*, in 1925, April, 1927.

keeps and pays the drum. On joining the service, an *Alah* personal finds his own drum; but afterwards gets it from the Government. Those who are in want of horses are continuously taken before His Majesty, who gives away many horses as presents or as part of the pay, and half being retained as grant, and the other half being deducted as four 'instalments' at the subsequent four months; or, if the *Alah* be in debt, as eight instalments.¹

3. *Battals*.—A fixed number of troops are handed over to the *Misadalla*, but they are paid by the State. His Majesty has ordered to designate these infantry soldiers as the drummers both as *musical* warriors or *half* troopers.

*The fourth part of *Battal* troops are *musick*-bearers, the others carry bows.

**Carriers*, workers in iron, water-carriers, ploughs, belong to this class.²

4. *Infantry*.—They are of various kinds and perform remarkable duties. His Majesty has made suitable regulations for their several ranks, and guides them and send in the most satisfactory manner.

*The *First Class* gets 500 *ahms*; the *Second*, 400 *ahms*; the *Third*, 300 *ahms*; the *Fourth*, 240 *ahms* (Rs. 1-40 *ahms*).

*There are 12,000 Imperial *musick*-bearers. Attached to this service is an experienced *Battal*, an *Imperial* drummer and an active *Sargish*. A few *handy* are selected for these officers, the others hold the following ranks:—

*Some are distinguished by their experience and skill and are therefore appointed over a certain number of others, so that uniformity may pervade the whole, and the duties be performed with propriety and understanding. The pay of these *Imperial* officers is of four grades, *First*, 300 *ahms*; *Second*, 240 *ahms*; *Third*, 200 *ahms*; *Fourth*, 160 *ahms*.

*Common *handy* are divided into five classes, and each class into three sub-classes. *First Class*, 250, 240 and 230 *ahms*. *Second Class*, 200, 180, 160 *ahms*. *Third Class*, 180, 160 and 140 *ahms*. *Fourth Class*, 160, 150 and 140 *ahms*. *Fifth Class*, 120, 100 and 110 *ahms*.³

Besides these regular troops there were a number of *miscellaneous* or *camp-followers* like the runners, workers, and *Palm*-bearers. About the last the *Ala* says 'They form a class of foot-servants peculiar to India. They carry heavy loads on their shoulders and travel through mountains and valleys. With their *Palm* engines, *chamels*, and *staves*, they walk so easily, that the most heavy is not inconvenient by any piling.'⁴ There are many in this country.

1. *Alah* *Alahs* I, pp. 245-50.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 256.

3. Cf. *Only* *O* *gaily* we glide well on *camp*.

We bear her along like a *pearl* on a string.—

Sargish Nishi, *Palm*-bearers.

but the best come from the Doldin and Bengal The pay of a head leader varies from 100 to 100 *silver*. Common leaders get from 150 to 160 *silver*.¹

"When His Majesty had fixed the ranks of the army, and enquired into the quality of the horses,² he ordered that upright *Shichiro* should make out descriptive rolls of the soldiers and write down their peculiar marks. Their ages, the names of their fathers, dwell-places, and race, were to be registered. A *Berighe* also was appointed whose duty it was to see that the men were not unnecessarily detained. They were to perform their duties without taking bribes or asking for remuneration.

"His Majesty has also appointed five experienced officers who have to look after the condition of the men, their horses, and the stipulated amount of pay."

"Various signs were used for branding horses. At last, *manash* was introduced, which plan best illustrates *landshin* practice. They make six *manash*, by which all confusions are avoided. These six signs are likewise put on the right thigh. The confusion with which the system of marking horses was attended to, resulted at once in truthful reports regarding dead horses. Horses answering the description in the rolls were even hired, and substituted for the old ones; but as the work was not hithertoing, the deception was detected, and the soldiers thus found to be honest. . . .

"The Imperial army has been divided into twelve parts each of which mounts guard for the space of one month. This gives all troops, whether near or far, an opportunity to come to Court and to partake of the liberty of His Majesty. But those who are stationed at the frontiers, or told off for any important duty, merely send in reports of their exact condition, and continue to perform His Majesty's special orders. On the first of every solar month, the guards are drawn up to salute His Majesty, as is usual on wedding occasions, and are then distinguished by rapid ranks of favour."

"The Imperial army has also been divided into twelve other

¹ *Ami Akbar*, I, pp. 234-35.

² They have been divided into seven classes. The rate of their duty had also been fixed. These seven classes are *Araks*, *Faras*, *Aras*, *Majlans*, *Faris*, *Aras*, *Yaher*, *Tam*, and *Janghal* horses." *Ibid.*, *Ami Akbar*, I, pp. 235-36.

divisions, each of which is selected in turn, to come to Court for one year and do duty near the person of His Majesty.

His Majesty generally inspects the guards himself, and takes notice of the presence or absence of the soldiers of His Majesty as presented by more important affairs from attending, one of the Princes is ordered to report the guards. From predilection and a desire to teach soldiers their duties as also from a regard to general efficiency, His Majesty pays attention to the guards. If any one is absent without having a proper excuse or from laziness he is fined one week's pay, or receives a suitable reprimand.¹

"The Order of the Household, the efficiency of the Army, and the welfare of the country, are intimately connected with the state of this department; hence His Majesty gives it every attention, and looks conspicuously into its working order. He introduces all sorts of new methods, and studies their applicability to practical purposes."²

Guns are wonderful tools for protecting the august will of the State, and heaving logs for the door of conquest. With the exception of Turkey, there is perhaps no country which as its guns has more means of securing the Government than this. There are now-a-days guns made of such a size that the ball weighs 12 water; several elephants and a dozen or so mules are required to transport one. His Majesty looks upon the new invention as the efficiency of this branch as one of the higher objects of a King, and devotes to it much of his time. Druggists and clever artists are appointed to keep the whole in proper working order.

"The Imperial guns are carefully distributed over the whole kingdom, and each district has that kind which is fit for it for the sign of fortresses and for naval engagements. His Majesty has separate guns made which accompany his victorious armies on their marches; . . .

Andis and *Abadis* are on staff employ in this branch. The pay of the first varies from 120 to 400 *ahims*.

Machinists are now made so strong, that they do not bend, though hit off when fired to the top. Formerly they could not hit them to more than a quarter. Besides, they made them with the hammer and the steel by flattening pieces of iron, and joining the flattened edges of both sides. Some left them, from the sight, on one side open; but numerous accidents were the result, especially in the inner kind. His Majesty has invented an excellent method of construction. They flatten iron and bend it round obliquely in the form of a sick, so that the folds get

1. Tod, pp. 255-58.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

knaps at every bend, then they join the limbs, not edge to edge, but, as in the other, them to lie one over the other, and heat them gradually in the fire. They also take cylindrical pieces of iron, and punch them when hot with an iron pin. These or four such pieces enter one gun or in the case of smaller ones, two. Guns are often made of a length of ten yards; those of a smaller kind are one and a quarter yards long. Bullets are also made so as to cut like a sword. Several things are marked on every musketball, viz., the weight of the gun and the manufactured iron, the place where the iron is taken from, the workman, the place where the gun is made, the date, its number, &c.

Formerly a strong man had to work a long time with iron instruments, in order to clean musketballs. His Majesty, from his practical knowledge, has invented a wheel, by the action of which sixteen barrels may be cleaned in a very short time. The wheel is turned by a man.

The department is of great use for the national operations of the army, and for the benefit of the country in general; it furnishes means of obtaining things of value, provided for agriculture, and His Majesty's household. His Majesty, in fostering the source of power, keeps four objects in view, and looks upon promoting the efficiency of this department as an act of divine worship.

Finally—The fitting use of strong boats, capable of carrying elephants. Some are made in such a manner as to be of use in night and for the purpose of saving boats. Experienced officers look upon ships as if they were horses and dragoons and use them as excellent means of conquest. So especially in Turkey, Persia, and Europe. In every part of His Majesty's Empire, ships are numerous; but in Bengal, Kibber, and Tharha (Sind) they are the pride of all countries. Along with the coast of the river, on the west, east, and south of India, large ships are built which are suitable for voyages. The workmen have been put into excellent condition, and the experience of war has much improved. Large ships are also built at Malabar and Lihon and are then sent to the coast.

Secondly—To appoint experienced men, acquainted with the tide, the depth of the coast, the time when the several winds blow, and their advantages and disadvantages. They must be familiar with shadows and lengths. Besides, a man must be bold and strong, a good swimmer, hard hearted, hard-working, capable of bearing fatigue, patient, in fact he must possess all good qualities. Men of such character can only be found after much trouble. The best man came from Malabar (Malabar).

Thirdly—An experienced man has been appointed to look after

the boats. As he possesses experience, he settles every difficulty which arises regarding boats, and takes care that each place are not overcrowded or too narrow, or very narrow, or full of mud. He regulates the number of passengers that a ferry boat may carry; he must not allow travellers to be delayed, and sees that poor people are ferried over gratis. He ought not to allow people to come across, or return to be deposited anywhere else but at landing places. He should also prevent people from coming at night unless in cases of necessity.

Facility.—The revenue of duties. His Majesty, in his mercy, has remitted many tolls, though the revenue derived from them equalled the revenue of the whole country. He only wishes that boatmen should get their wages. The State takes custom taxes in harbour places, but they never exceed 2½ per cent, which is so little compared with the taxes formerly levied, and merchants look upon harbour taxes as totally remitted.

The following rates are levied as river tolls :—For every boat Rs. 1 per day, at the rate of 1000 *manas* provided the boat and the mast belong to one and the same owner. But if the boat belongs to another man and everything in the boat to the man who has hired it, the tax is Rs. 1 for every 2½ *kos*. At ferry places, an elephant has to pay 2½ for crossing, a laden cart, 1½; *manas*, empty, 1½; a laden cart, 1½; empty carts, horses, cattle with their drags, 1½; *manas*, empty, ½. Other beasts of burden pay 1/16; which includes the toll due by the driver. Twenty people pay 1½ for crossing; but they are often taken gratis.

The rule is that one-half or one-third of the tolls thus collected go to the state (the rest to the boatmen).

"Merchants are therefore well treated, and the species of foreign currencies are imported in large quantities."

V. THE IMPERIAL MINT

To complete this brief survey of Akbar's administration we might add one more extract from the *Ain-i Akbari*, about the Imperial Mint.

'As the successful working of the Mint,' writes Abu-l Fazl, 'increases the treasure, and is the source of despatch for every department, I shall mention a few details. The success of this department lies in the appointment of intelligent, zealous and upright workmen, and the edifice of the world is built upon their situation and carefulness. Only two officers of this department are mentioned by Abu-l Fazl, viz., the *Darogah* and the *Shahaji*.' He also gives the description of the following coins :—

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 179-82.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

KEY TO COINS OF THE EMPIRE.*

1. Basm :

Qale — a circle the Jellahs, change, in separate, portions of

اباكر الصدين

(" Baka the faithful servant ")

عمر والفرول

(" Umar, the discriminator between right and wrong ")

عنان ابو نورين

(" Ennan, the father of two lights ")

عل الرضى

(" Ali, the pleasing to god ")

Sev — waiting, belated, untold, and.

تقوى الدين محمد بن بادشاه غزنى ٩٣٦

above

السلطان الاعظم الملقب بالكرام

(" The most great Sultan, the illustrious Emperor ")

below

عزاد الله تعالى ملكه و سلطته

(" May God Most High permeate the kingdom and sovereignty ") and

ضرب لاهور

(" Struck at Lahore ")

* Prepared with the kind assistance of my colleague Prof. E. D. Payne, M.A., M.F. — A/1900.

2. Humsayrōn :

Ole.—in circle, the *halimah*.

Rev.—خدا الله عادل ملكه محمد حبيبوت بادشاه قزوين

("May God Most High perpetuate his kingdom . . . Muhammad Hamayda Shāhibzād Ghāzī.")

3. Sarrā Sarrā :

Ole.—as square, the *halimah* ; margin is on No. 1.

Rev.—as square

شیرشاه سلطان خدا الله ملكه ۹۳۹

("Sultan Sher Shāh, may God Most High perpetuate his kingdom, 948 A.H.")

Below at Nagari . *Shīr Shāh* (an attempt at Sher Shāh's name) margin (—)

السلطان عادل ابو القهر

("The just Sultan, the father of the victorious.")

فرید الدین محمد آکر

Firdā-us-Sā. Struck at Agra.

4. *Asārah* :Ole.—in dotted border, the *halimah*. Margins of the four corners of the Prophet, and GH.

خدا ملكه جلال الدين محمد آكر بادشاه قزوين
بلدا آكر

("May God perpetuate his kingdom, Jalāl-us-Sā Muhammad Akbar Shāhibzād Ghāzī. Struck at Agra town.")

5. Jashn-e-

One—folded in alambas, seated cross-legged on chair, head to left, goblet in right hand.

Around

هنگامی که زرگرد تصویر

شبه حضرت شاه جهانگیر

("Destiny on coin of gold has drawn the portrait of His Majesty Shah Jahan")

Rev—out at square compartment in center, to left

مرب احمد ۱۰۲۳

("Struck at Ameer 1663.")

یا حسین To right

("O thou fixed one")

سنه ۹ and

("Year 9")

above and below

حروف جهانگیر و الله اکبر

ز روز اول هر شده شد برابر

("The letters of Jahanگیر and Allah-akbar are equal in value from the beginning of time.")

6. Serial Jashn :

One—the half-moon, in 3 lines :

below

مرب احمد آباد سنه ۲ الهی ماه خورشید

("Struck at Ahmadabad in the month Khurdid of the Hosi year 2.")

Ras —

صاحب قرآن کرامی
شهاب الدین محمد
ذاعجبان پادشاہ قاری

سنہ ۱۰۲۵ھ

(“The second Shah-i-Quran, Shahab-ad-din Muhammad Shirazi
Jahin Shirazhi Qari, year 1025”)

7 ALMANACH.

Qasr —

سکہ زدہ بر جہانی جو مہر خیر
شد اورنگدہ زمیں عالم گیر

(“Struck money through the world like the shining sun Shah
Aurangzeb Akbar”)

Ras —

شرب شد سکہ کا چلوس
مہم شد مائوس

(“Struck at Tatta in the 5th year of the accession associated
with amputation.”)



Shown by AD. V. H. Anderson

COINS OF THE ROMAN

- 1 The *Sikahik* is a round coin weighing 100 *satabs*, 5 *satabs*, and 7 *satabs*, its value equal to 100 *satabs* *faillik* money.

A Gold Coin. On the field of the coin is engraved the name of His Majesty, and on the first sides is the legend, "the great Sothen, the *Amagurash* Koyem, may God perpetuate his longdom and his reign." Below at the capital *Agas*. On the reverse is the beautiful legend (*faillik*) and the following verse of the *Qorin*: "God is beautiful unto whom he pleases, without measure;" and round about are the names of the first four *Calles*.

2 There is another gold coin of the same name and shape, weighing 40 *satabs* and 8 *satabs* in value equal to 100 round markers of 11 *satabs* each. It has the same expression as the preceding.

3 The *Kahin* is the half of each of the two preceding coins. It is a square made square.

4 The *Fleak* is the fourth part of the *Sikahik* round and square.

5 The *Amash* of the same two forms as the others, in value equal to one-fifth of the first coin.

There are also gold coins of the same shape and expression equal to one-eighth, one-tenth, one-twentieth, one-thirty-fifth of the *Sikahik*.

6 The *Chapel* (or *Japel*), of a square form, is the fifth part of the *Sikahik*, in value equal to two markers.

The description of twenty other gold coins follows. Then the *Am* coins. As regards gold coins, the custom followed in the Imperial Mint is to use *La's* *faillik* *Dians* and *Mans*, each coin for the space of a month. The other gold coins are never stamped without special orders. The first of these is 1000 in *Amal* Fiat's lot, and is used to be of the same weight and value as the *Amal* (11 *satabs* 14 *satabs* = No. 100). The second was half, and the third one-fourth of the *Amal*.

- 7 The *Kajer* is round, and weighs 114 *satabs*. It was first introduced in the time of *Shir Kila*. It was per-

forced during the reign, and received a new stamp, one side "Alila, Alhar, *faillik* *faillik*," and on the other the date. Although the market price is sometimes more or less than its value yet the value is always set upon it in the payment of salaries.

8 The *faillik* is of a square form, which was introduced during the present reign. Its value and stamp it is the same as No. 1.

- 9 The *Shik* is half a *faillik*.
- 10 The *Chasen* is a quarter *faillik*.
- 11 The *Pashan* is a fifth of the *faillik*.
- 12 The *Am* is the eighth part of the *faillik*.
- 13 The *Dans* is one-tenth of the *faillik*.
- 14 The *Kale* is the sixteenth part of the *faillik*.
- 15 The *Shik* is one-thirtieth of the *faillik*.

1 For alterations of these "coin-legends" later in *Alhar's* reign see *ibid.*, pp. 37-8.

¹ The same fractional parts are adapted for the [round] *Rupai* which is however different in form.

3. The *Allo* weighs 5 *tanika*, i.e. 1 *tolah*, 3 *mitakha*, and 7 *carika*;

C. Copper Coin. It is the heaviest part of the rupee. At first the coin was called *Phulka*, and also *Shukla*; now it is known under this name (*Allo*). On one side the place where it was struck is given, and on the other the date.

For the purpose of calculation, the *Allo* is divided into 25 parts, each of which is called a *prad*. This imaginary division is used only by accountants.

2. The *Adolah* is half of a *Allo*.
3. The *Prad* is a quarter *Allo*.
4. The *Dandi* is one-eighth of a *Allo*.

Note—In the beginning of this reign, gold was coined in many parts of the Empire; now gold coins are struck at four places only, viz. at the seat of the government, in Bengal, Ahmedabad, and Kabul. Silver and copper are likewise coined at the places, and as follows: Aggra, Ujjain, Sam. Dill, Feroz, Khatwa, Lahore, Multan, Tandila. In twenty-eight towns copper coins only are struck, viz. Aggra, Aulha, Akah, Agra, Badli, Baran, Bhadga, Bhatia, Bikan, Jaipur, Jalandhar, Haridwar, Hala, Pithia, Khat, Ghatia, Ghatia, Khatwa, Lakhna, Mirat, Nag, Noida, Noida, Sam, Saharwal, Sirangpur, Sam, Sam, Sam, Sam.

"Miscellaneous affairs in this country are mostly transacted in *rupee*, *prad*, and *Allo*."

The Finnish writer De Last (1850-1848) states: "The wealth of this prince can be estimated, firstly, from

Allo's Treas-
ure.

the size of the territories which he controls (these form an Empire larger than that of Persia and

equal to, if not greater than, that of Turkey); secondly, from the fact that no one in his Empire has any possessions at all except what he holds through the prince's liberality and at his pleasure, and that he himself inherits the property not only of all dead magnates, but also of inferior persons, taking for himself as much as he pleases of what they leave; and thirdly, from the immense gifts which are bestowed upon him every day not only by his subjects but also by foreign princes." Although De Last really wrote this of Jahangir, his statement is equally well applicable to Akbar. Further on he observes, on the death of 'Adahar, grandfather of the prince now reigning (1583, 1584), his treasures were carefully counted, and

1. For more particulars about Akbar's treasure see *ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

2. J. N. Hylbrand, *The Empire of the Great Mogul*, p. 109.

were found to amount in all (including gold) silver and copper, both wrought and unwrought, together with jewels and all manner of household commodities to 34,000,000 lacs, and 36,000 rases (i.e., to Rs. 548,204,380½); of this total Rs. 195,300,000] was in specie of all descriptions.¹

This treasure included, besides the jewels, cloth of gold from Persia, Turkey, Goozilat and Europe; muslins from Bengala, and woollen cloth from Europe, Persia, and Turkey; also books written by great authors, beautifully bound, to the number of 24,000, estimated at Rs. 5,462,731 in value.² etc. Prof. Bercopet, commenting upon this, writes, 'The inventory of the treasury of Akbar is an unique contribution of De Laet. It agrees with the later accounts of Manabhai (1888) and Haughey (1848) . . . Total comes to 40 millions. The purchasing power of money was at times greater than the pre-war rate, say, in 1814. In other words, the total brings us to the huge figure of £240 million sterling. Henry VII (who died in 1509) left £1,800,000 in bullion and was considered rich, Henry VIII debased the coinage, and Elizabeth left behind a debt of £400,000 and huge number of turbingles!'³

VI. SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS REFORMS⁴

With all his praise for practical achievement, Akbar was, essentially an idealist and a dreamer. In addition to his conquest and administrative expansion described above, he also aimed at what Abul Fazl calls 'the reformation of the manners of the people'. Thus, while on the one hand, he forbade injustices, self, excessive indulgence in intoxicating drinks, cow-slaughter, etc., on the other, he encouraged widow remarriage, abolished the atrocious pilgrimages and *Jajirs*, and tried to erase the differences between the two main sections of his people—Hindus and Muslims—by setting an example of inter-communal wedding, making no distinction of caste or creed in the conferment of high titles and offices, and above all, by attempting to establish a new faith which should be the harbinger of a new world: 'For an Empire ruled by one head.' Akbar rightly considered, 'it was a bad thing to have the nation divided

1. Ibid., pp. 137-8.

2. Ibid. pp. 132-33. See also A. Asaf, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-15.

3. Read 'Akbar's Religious Policy' by Sir Riaz Hussain, in I. I. Q., XIII, 1-3 1937.

among themselves, and at variance one with the other. We ought, therefore, to bring them all into one, but in such fashion that they should be one and all with the great advantage of not losing what is good in our own religion, while gaining whatever is better in another. In that way honour would be rendered to God, peace would be given to the people, and security to the Empire'.¹

This glorious idealism of Akbar has been much misunderstood and misrepresented. Baruch saw in it only Akbar's 'Islamic and Jewish policy'. Even Vincent Smith speaks of 'The fit of religious jealousy which assailed Akbar at the beginning of May 1578,' 'a symptom of the intense interest in the claims of real religions which he manifested in 1578-79 prior to the signing of the infidelity decree in September of the latter year'.² He further declares, 'The Divine Faith was a monument of Akbar's folly, not of his wisdom... The whole scheme was the outcome of religious vanity, a monstrous growth of unrestrained intolerance'.³ In view of this unqualified criticism it is necessary to go into a detailed examination of Akbar's religious and social reforms.⁴

Far from being the 'monument of Akbar's folly,' the *Din-i-Ilahi*,

Din-i-Ilahi

as the new faith was called was the growing expression of the Emperor's national idealism. Akbar, at least in this respect, is not to be judged by the statements of the Jesuits alone. Being heavily disappointed in their expectations of converting the Emperor, these European missionaries became too prone to give credence to statements discrediting Akbar. To wit, Baddeley in confirmation of the Jesuits, is only to call in two prejudiced witnesses instead of one. A fair judge ought to make sure, especially before jumping into a condemnation, that the witnesses themselves are above suspicion. We shall, therefore consider accounts of the *Din-i-Ilahi* given by two such witnesses, Akbari Faiz and Baddeley, and try to arrive at the truth on the merits of their evidence.

1. As to Baruch, cited by Smith, *Akbar*, pp. 221 ff.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 222.

4. In support of the view upheld in the present volume the reader is strongly recommended to read the chapter on *Din-i-Ilahi* in *The Mughal Empire* by Mr. B. M. Jaffer. The opposite view is maintained in G. H. I., IV, pp. 120-122.

"Whatever, from lucky circumstances, says Abul Fazl, 'the time arrives that is nature's lesson to understand how to worship Truth: the people will naturally look to their King on account of the high position which he occupies, and accept him as he their spiritual leader as well.... A King will therefore sometimes discover the element of harmony in a multitude of things, or sometimes, reversely, a multitude of things in that which is apparently one; for he sits on the throne of disunion, and is thus equally removed from joy or sorrow. Now this is the case with the monarch of the present age (Akbar). His now is the spiritual guide of the nation, and yet, in the performance of this duty a means of pleasing God.'"

This was the outlook of the age, and, as we have pointed out in our Introduction, we are not to forget that elsewhere than in India people had not outgrown the belief *rex est rex eto solus*. England looked to the Tudors to save the nation, and the Tudors expected the people to behave themselves. At least under Akbar there were no 'Smithfield fairs', and the King did not seek to change the creed of a nation because he desired to get rid of an old wife in order to marry her daughter-in-law!

Admitting the need for a national church, there is nothing ridiculous in conceiving a new ritual. Akbar declared himself the spiritual as well as the temporal head of the State; but he never forced on the people any Act of Supremacy or Uniformity. "In the magnanimity of his heart, he never thinks of his perfection," says Abul Fazl, "though he is the ornament of the world." Notwithstanding every stricture and resistance shown by His Majesty in admitting novices, there are many thousands, men of all classes, who have cast over their shoulders the mantle of belief, and look upon their conversion to the New Faith as the means of obtaining every blessing....

"The members of the Divine Faith, in seeing each other, observe the following custom. One says, '*Allahu Akbar*,' and the other responds, '*Jalla Jalaluhu*.' The reason of His Majesty in laying down this mode of salutation is to remind men to think of the origin of their existence, and to keep the Deity in mind, lovely, and grateful remembrance."

"It is also ordered by His Majesty that, instead of the dinner usually given on remembrance of a man after his death, each member should prepare a dinner during his lifetime, and then gather provisions for his last journey."

"Each member is to give a party on the anniversary of his birth-day, and arrange a sumptuous feast. He is to bestow alms, and then prepare provisions for the long journey."

"His Majesty has also ordered that members should abstain from eating flesh. They may allow others to eat flesh, without touching it themselves, but during the month of their fast they are not even to approach meat. Nor shall members go near anything that they have themselves touched, nor eat of it. Members shall they make use of the same vessels with buttons, shoes, and bed-clothes."

Members should not consort with pagans, old, and barren women, nor with girls under the age of puberty.¹

Radical was an uncompromising critic of Akbar's innovations.

He was the very antithesis of Abu'l Fazl. He looked upon Akbar as one lost to Islam. "His historical work, entitled *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*," says Blochmann, "is much praised as written by an enemy of Akbar, whose character, as its grandeur and its failings, is much more prominent than in the *Alfarsinama*, or the *Tuzuk-i-Akbari* or the *Mir'at-i-Fakiri*. It is especially of value for the religious views of the Emperor, and contains interesting biographies of most famous men and poets of Akbar's time."²

"In this year (1604)," writes Radical, "His Majesty was anxious to unite in his person the powers of the State and those of the Church; for he could not bear to be subordinate to any one. As he had heard that the Prophet, his lawful successor, and some of the most powerful Kings, as Amir Timur, and Mirza Ulugh Beg, and several others, had, themselves read the *Khatibah* (the Friday prayer), he resolved to do the same, apparently in order to imitate their example, but in reality to appear in the public as the *Muhtashid* of the age. Accordingly, on Friday, the first *Jumada* (about 105, in the *Rica* *Makbul* of Fatigah, which he had held near the palace, His Majesty commenced to read the *Khatibah*. . . . These are the verses—

"The Lord has given me the Empire,
And a wise heart, and a strong arm.
He has guided me in righteousness and justice,
And has removed from thoughts everything but justice.

1. Ibid., pp. 163-7.

2. Ibid., p. 166, n. 1.

His power surpasses man's understanding,
Great is His power, Allahu Akbar!"

In the same year (1921), a document made its appearance, which bore the signatures and seals of Ministers-of-trust of Sheikh Mohammed . . . of Cedar Island, the Khalif of the Empire, of Sheikh Mohammed, the greatest minister of the age, and Ghazi Khan of Baskah Khan, who stood unrivalled in the various sciences.

THE DOCUMENT

"Whereas Mohammed has now become the victim of tyranny and poison, and the land of justice and beneficence, a large number of people, especially learned men and lawyers have emigrated and chosen this country for their home. Now we, the principal Ulama, who are not only well-informed in the several departments of the law and in the principles of jurisprudence, and well-acquainted with the effects which our reformation or non-reformation, but are also aware for our glory and honour, have duly considered the deep meaning, first of the verse of Qur'an (Sur. IV, 42) :

'Obey God and obey the Prophet and those who have authority among you' and secondly, of the genuine tradition: 'Surely, the man who is closest to God on the day of judgment is the leader? And, whenever there is a man who says: Alif, and whenever there is a man, who is against us,' and thirdly, of several other proofs based on reasoning or testimony; and we have agreed that the rank of a Sultan (i. 'Alif in rank) is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a Magistrate. Further we declare that the King of Islam, Amir of the Faithful, Shadow of God in the world, Alif Fakih Jaldawila Mohammed Akbar Fakhrak Khan, whose long-life, God preserve, is a most just, most wise, and a most God-fearing King. Should, therefore, in future, a religious question come up regarding which the opinion of the Magistrate is in variance with His Majesty, in His penetrating understanding and clear vision, be inclined to accept, for the benefit of the nation, and as a judicial expedient, any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point, and later is desired to that effect, we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.

"Further we declare that, should His Majesty think fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it, provided always that such an order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Qur'an but also of real benefit for the nation; and further, that any opposition on the part of the subjects to such an order as passed by His Majesty, shall involve themselves in the world to come, and loss of religion and property in this life.

"This document has been written with lowest intentions, for the glory of God, and the propagation of Islam, and is signed by us, the priests

the *Ulema* and *Imams*, in the month of *Shahad* of the year 987 of the *Hijra*.*

Commenting on this, Badliani writes, 'No sooner had His Majesty obtained this legal instrument, than the road of deciding any religious question was open: the superiority of intellect of the *Indians* was established, and opposition was rendered impossible. All matters regarding things which our law allows or disallows, were abolished, and the superiority of intellect of the *Indians* became law.'

The grievance of Badliani's charge against the innovation was their rejection of Islamic revelation and their infidelity. 'The Emperor examined people,' he says, 'about the question of the *Qur'an*, stated their belief or otherwise, in revelation, and raised doubts in them regarding all things connected with the Prophet and the *Indians*. He distinctly denied the existence of *Jinn* of angels, and all other beings of the invisible world as well as the miracles of the Prophet and the saints: he rejected the successive testimony of the witnesses of our Faith, the proof for the truth of the *Qur'an* as far as they agree with man's reason, etc. Akbar had boldly declared, "Man's outward professions and the mere letter of Mahummedanism, without a heartfelt conviction, can avail nothing.... To repeat the words of the *Creed*, to perform circumcisions, or to be prostrate on the ground from dread of kingly power can avail nothing in the sight of God." (E. & D. op. cit. VI, pp. 60-61).

In the eyes of Badliani this was unpardonable apostasy from the orthodox faith. From the moment onwards, he and the bigoted *muftis* began to increase everything connected with the new faith: they had nothing but imprecations and invectives against every one connected therewith. Impotent orthodoxy raged and fumed: it raised the head of rebellion in 1581 and died away in futile discontent. We find it still summing in the pages of the *Mawazib*†

'The poor (orthodox) *Shakhis* who were, moreover, left in the custody of Haidi Ferozani Secretary, began to make their spiritual misdeeds, and had no other place where to live, except nowhere.'

'In the year (988) he and other *Shakhis*, who pretended to be learned, but were in reality fools, collected evidence that His Majesty was the *Shakh-i-Jamali* who would remove all differences of opinion among the seventy-two sects of *hikma*. . . . The *Shakhis* conceived vulgar opinion: . . . All this made His Majesty the more inclined to claim the dignity of a prophet, perhaps I should say, the dignity of something else.'

1. Ibid., pp. 184-85.

2. Ibid., p. 178.

During that time, the four degrees of rank in His Majesty were defined. The four degrees consisted in readiness to sacrifice to the Emperor property, life, honour, and religion. Whoever had sacrificed these four things, possessed four degrees; and whoever sacrificed one of these four, possessed one degree. All the courtiers now put their names down as faithful disciples of the Emperor.¹

Badkhor has here definitely begun to caricature. Badkhor was certainly not one of "all the courtiers" who had signed away their "property, life, honour, and religion" to the Emperor; and he continued to live at the Court of Akbar for the remaining fifteen years of his life (1562-1574 A.D.). He has himself mentioned only sixteen names of the courtiers who accepted the Divine Faith, to which Abul Fazl has added two. "With the exception of Mir Isā, they are all Muhammadans, but to judge from Badkhor's remarks the number of those that took the Shīva, must have been much larger," says Blochmann.² According to Badkhor's own testimony, Mirā Shāh-wā Dīn and Mirā Singh declined to accept the new faith,³ they were not persecuted, but continued to enjoy their high privileges and position.

Badkhor's caricature was further accentuated by the favour (or was it only favour?) shown by Akbar to deserving Hindūs: "The real object of those who become disciples," he writes, "was to get into office; and though His Majesty did everything to get this out of their hands, he acted very differently in the case of Hindūs, of whom he could not get enough (2); for the Hindūs, of course, are indispensable; to them belongs half the army and half the land. Neither the Rajpūts nor the Moghuls can point to such grand lords as the Hindūs have among themselves. But if others than Hindūs came, and wished to become disciples at any number, His Majesty refused or persecuted them (7). For their honour and soul he did not care, nor did he notice whether they fell in with his views or not (1)."

Badkhor stands self-condemned out of the words of his own mouth; in his opinion, not nearly Akbar, but every one who deviated even a hair's breadth from the rigid orthodoxy of the Shari'ah was an apostate. His fulminations, therefore, against Akbar and

1. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 229.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 176, 179.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 176.

Abol-Pad are worth nothing. They are the effusions of a fanatical monkling under the reforms introduced by Akbar: with the best of intentions.' We need consider here only the nature of those reforms. Let us follow Halliday's own account of them:

'His Majesty was now (1601) convinced that the Millennium of the Indian dispersion was drawing near. His absolute thinking, he turned to promulgating the changes which he had planned in secret. The *Shahis* and *Gillanis* were no account of their abominations and profits. And so he solemnly decreed, *ware peas*, and His Majesty was free to dispense the orders and principles of Islam and to run his *dar* of the nation by making war and abiding regulations.'¹

1. The first order which was passed was, that the *rajput* should show the son of the Millennium (1601 A.D.), and that a history of one thousand years should be written, but commencing from the death of the Prophet.

2. 'Other extraordinary innovations were decreed as political expedients, and such orders were given that one's senses got quite perplexed. Thus the *ajit* or presentation was ordered to be performed as being proper for Kings; but instead of *ajit*, the word *astabhar* was used.

3. 'Wine also was allowed, if used for strengthening the body as recommended by doctors; but its drinking as improperly used to result from the use of it, and strict punishments were laid down for drunkenness, or partings, and assaults. For the sake of keeping everything within proper limits, His Majesty established a wine-shop near the palace, and put the wife of the porter in charge of it, as she belonged to the caste of women. The price of wine was fixed by regulations, and any *dar* person could obtain wine on sending his own name and the names of his father and grandfather to the clerk of the shop . . .

4. 'Smoking . . . the population of the *dar* (who had collected at the capital, and could scarcely be counted, so large was their number), had a separate quarter of the town assigned to them, which was called *Shahis-wah*, or *Deva-dah*. *Shahis* and a *dash* were also appointed for it, who represented the names of such as went to prostitutes, or wanted to take some of them to their houses. People might indulge in such excesses, provided the *dash* reflected know of it . . .

5. 'Dress was liberalised, and to such had was unadvised dressing. The reason of this was that, from his youth, His Majesty had been in company with Hindu *shrinis*, and had thus learnt to look upon a new—what in their opinion is one of the reasons why the world still exists—as something holy. Besides, the Emperor was subject to the influence of the numerous Hindu professors of the *Haris*, who had gained a great

1. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

an ascendancy over him, as to make him stronger body, spirit, soul, and the wearing of a beard, which things the Hindus still value.

5. "He had also introduced, though modified by his peculiar view, Hindu customs, and brought into the Court assembly, and introduced them still, in order to please and win the Hindoos and their rulers, by abstaining from everything which they think is repugnant to their customs, and have given sharing the board as the highest sign of friendship and affection for him (7). Hence this custom has become very general . . .

6. "The images of bulls as in use with the Christians, and the showing of the figure of the Cross . . . and other childish play things of children, were daily in practice.

7. "It was also forbidden to marry one's cousin or near relations, because such marriages are destructive of mutual love. *They were not to marry before the age of 16 nor girls before 14, however the offspring of early marriages were usually . . .*" No one was to marry more than one wife, except in cases of barrenness, but in all other cases the rule was "One man, and one wife" . . .¹ If widows lived to remarry, they might do so, though this was against the ideas of the Hindoos.

8. "A Hindu girl, whose husband had died before the marriage was consummated, should not be burnt." "If a Hindu woman wished to be burnt with her husband, they should not prevent her, but she should not be burnt!"²

9. "Hindu who, when young, had been pressed to become Muhammadans were allowed to go back to the faith of their fathers. He was *should be satisfied with no account of his religion, and every one should be allowed to change his religion, if he liked.*" If a Hindu woman fell in love with a Muhammadan, and changed her religion, she should be taken from him by force, and be given back to her family. (Similarly with a Muhammadan woman marrying a Hindu—as to the *Idolaters*.) "People should not be molested, if they wished to build churches and prayer houses or idol temples, or fire temples!"³

All this, according to Baddland constituted blasphemy and apostasy! It is strange that in spite of this, Vincent Smith should cite Baddland as a witness "of the highest value." "Baddland's interesting work," he says, "contains so much hostile criticism of Allah that it was kept concealed during that emperor's lifetime, and could not be published until after Jai Singh's accession. The book, being written from the point of view taken by a bigoted Hindu, is of the

1 Ibid., pp. 275-86, see also pp. 277-8.

2 Cf. Smith, *Allah*, p. 258.

3 Blackmore, *Allah-Idolaters*, p. 204.

4 Ibid., p. 207; E. & D., op. cit., VI, no. 68-9.

5 Blackmore, op. cit., p. 220.

6 Ibid., p. 258.

highest value as a check on the thoughtlessness suggested by the *Jeffreysonian Ideal Fast*. It gives information about the development of Akbar's opinions on religion, which is not to be found in the other Persian histories, but agrees generally with the testimony of the *Jami* authors.¹

On the strength of the testimony of the "hostile" and "bigoted Saad writers," Sena avers, "The general principle of tolerance . . . which actually got in practice concerning religious other than Islam, was not acted on in matters concerning Mohammedan faith and practice. Akbar showed fuller hostility to the faith of his fathers and his own youth, and actually persecuted a persecution of Islam."²

The reforms described above were not the work of a single year; they were the product of a gradual evolution under a variety of circumstances. Akbar lived in an age of great spiritual awakening in India, as well as Europe. ("The sixteenth century," writes Prof. Sena, "is a century of religious revival in the history of the world. The grand currents of the Reformation compare favourably with the surging up of a new life in India. India experienced an awakening that quickened her progress and vivified her national life. The dominant note of this awakening was Love and Liberalism—Love that called man to God, and thence to his brother man, and Liberalism, born of this love that levelled down the barrier of caste, creed and colour, and took its stand on the bed-rock of human common sense and essence of all religions, Universal Brotherhood. With glorious results it inspired the Hindu and Muslim alike and they began for a time the trinitarian of their creed. To the Muslim as to the Hindu, it breathed the dawn of a new era, to the Muslim with the birth of the promised Mithili, to the Hindu with the realization of the all-shaking love of God."³

Not only were the times stirring and progressive. Sir Akbar was also born in a family that was deeply religious. "While Shihab and Humayun were both men of an essentially deep faith, they took unconsciously lightly the outward forms of religion, as indicated by

1. Sena, *op. cit.*, p. 431.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 337.

3. The reader will do well to read this interesting article on "The Genesis of the Dera-Nisai," by Prof. H. H. Sena, in the *Journal of Indian History* (Madras, Dec., 1930), pp. 206-23.

their charge of civil under political necessity. Akbar was thus early brought under the liberalising influences of his family and country. His tutor Abdul Latif was "a purveyor of learning" and the guiding principle of his life was "Din-i-Ilahi" or peace with all. Smith himself writes: "Akbar from early youth had been passionately interested in the harmony of the relations between God and man, and in all the deep questions concerned with that relation. 'Discourses on philosophy' he said, 'have such a charm for me that they detain me from all else and I bravely restrain myself from listening to them, lest the necessary duties of the hour should be neglected' (*ibid.*, vol. III, p. 384). When he came home to his capital at the beginning of 1575 he was conscious of having gained a long measure of remarkable and decisive victories which left him without an important enemy in the world as known to him. We are told at this time he "asport whole nights in praising God. . . His heart was full of reverence for Him who is the true giver, and from a feeling of thankfulness for his past successes he would on many a morning alone in prayer and meditation on a large flat stone of an old building which lay near the palace in a lovely spot, with his head bent over his chest, gathering the time of the early hours of dawn."¹

As early as 1562, when Akbar was only twenty years of age, he had "experienced a remarkable spiritual awakening." "On the completion of my twentieth year," he said, "I experienced an internal battleship and from the lack of spiritual provision for my last journey my soul was seized with exceeding sorrow" (*ibid.*, vol. III, p. 380). Commenting on this, Smith rightly observes: "It is impossible not to connect the scenes of religious enthusiasm with the public events which preceded it. . . . He had become conscious of the weight of the vast responsibilities resting upon his shoulders, and was forced to conviction that he must rely on his own strength, with Divine help, to bear them. . . . He never again placed himself under the control of any adviser, but mapped out his course, right or wrong (for Akbar!) During the years in which he was apparently devoted to spot alone, and oblivious of all serious affairs, the great man had been thinking and shaping out a course of policy. His abolition of the practice of enslavement of prisoners of war, his marriages with the princess of Ausha, and his recognition of the

1. Smith *op. cit.*, pp. 384-5. *ibid.* C: III, I, IV, pp. 375-378.

"reason were measures which proved that his thinking had not been rotten. No minister would or could have carried these through".¹

In 1583, in accordance with the broad outlook which Akbar was developing, he abolished all pilgrim taxes throughout his dominions, declaring it was contrary to the will of God to tax people ascribed to worshipping the Creator, even though their forms of worship might be considered erroneous.² The following year, 1584, he also certified the *dhajra*, or poll-tax on non-Muslims,³ although this involved a large loss of revenue.

Smith says, with great justice to Akbar, "some writers are inclined to attribute too much influence on Akbar's policy to Abu'l Fazl. It is noteworthy that Akbar abolished the *dhajra* ten years before he made the acquaintance of his famous secretary. He had many ways the pilgrim taxes at a will earlier date. The main lines of his policy, directed to abolishing all differences as between Muslims and Hindus, were fixed as political principles while he was still in all outward appearance an orthodox and ardent Muslim, and long before his open breach with Islam, which may be dated in 1582, after the defeat of his brother's attempt to win the throne of India. When it is remembered that Akbar was only twenty-one or twenty-two years of age when he abolished the pilgrim tax and the *dhajra*, in defiance of the sentiments of his co-religionists and the practice of his predecessors, we may well marvel at the strength of will displayed by a man so young, who a little time before seemed to care for nothing but sport."⁴

In 1575 Akbar created the *Khair-ul-Mal*, or the House of Worship, devoted to religious discussions.⁵ At first it was used only by Muslim Shaidas, Saiyids, Ulema and Amirs. Debates were held every Thursday night and often lasted on till Friday noon. But

1. Smith, *loc. cit.*, pp. 45-6.

2. E. & D., *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 20-22. This tax was originally levied by Khatt-i-Qasbi. In India, under Feroz Shah Tughlak it was levied in three grades, viz., 40, 20, 10 *tanakas*. Subscribers were charged 10 *tanakas* and 50 *shahi*. It was reimposed by Akbar again in 1575.

3. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-7.

4. See "Three Mughal Frontiers on Akbar's Religious Deviations" by Rev. St. Hume in the *J. R. A. S. A.*, III, 1 and 2 (1928), C. R. I, IV, pp. 225-234.

the 1842 wranglings of the Muslim dimes gave no satisfaction to Akbar's generally thirsty soul. Let us follow Rastaud's description of the state of things that made Akbar seek other means to obtain his thirst:—

"For these discussions which were held every Thursday night, His Majesty invited the Pargana, Shikha, Ullahs, and presided by turn. But in the guests generally contented to speak about their places and the order of procedure. His Majesty ordered that the guests should sit on the east side, the Sayyids on the west side, the Ullahs, to the south; and the Shikhas, to the north. The Emperor then used to go from one side to the other, and making his enquiries:— . . . when all at once, one night, the vein of the rock of the Ullah of the age cracked up, and a fearful noise and earthquake ensued. His Majesty got very angry at their rude behaviour, and said to me (Rastaud), "In future respect any of the Ullahs that cannot behave and talk seriously, and I shall make him leave the hall." I gently said to Akbar Khán: "If I were to carry out his order, most of the Ullahs would have to leave;" when His Majesty suddenly asked what I had said. On hearing my answer, he was highly pleased, and mentioned my remark to those sitting near him.¹

"The difference between the two parties of the Ullah, one of whom denounced as heretical notions declared by the other to be the truth, confused Akbar in the opinion that both parties were in error, and that the truth must be sought outside the range of their discussions."² His thoughts now turned for enlightenment to Persia, Japan, Christiana, and Hinduia. Or, in the words of Akbar-i-Faiz: "The Sulthan's Court became the home of the inquiries of the seven dimes," and the assemblage of the wise of every religion and sect.³

According to Smith, Akbar probably knew more personal information as to Zoroastrianism, the religion of the Parsis, than in any other of the numerous religions examined by him in critically in his 'adab' (?) detached manner.⁴ Dastir Mahiyar Wakh of Niasat had the privilege of inducing Akbar into the inquiries of this religion in 1575-79. They had first met near Khairab Khair during Akbar's Gujarat campaign in 1573. After his death in 1581 the famous Dastir was succeeded

1. Rastaud, *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, p. 171, R. & S., op. cit., VI, pp. 50-51.

2. Smith, op. cit., p. 167.

3. Akbar-Nama, vi, p. 266.

4. Smith, op. cit. p. 167; see also *Ibid.*, p. 165 n. 3.

be his son at Akbar's Court. He was granted a *jagir* of 200 *hājirs* of land (700 acres), which was later on increased by one-half. From 1580 Akbar publicly prostrated before the sun and fire, and in the evenings when lamps were lighted it became the practice for the whole Court to kne respectfully. According to Badkash he ordered that dead bodies should be buried with their heads towards the east (rising sun). "His Majesty even commenced to sleep in this position."

"The evidence available," writes Dr. Helmut Strieker¹ "would show that Akbar learnt the *Sāhyasūtra-sūtra*

The Jains.

from a Jain teacher of his The list

given by Akbar's Poet names three Jain gurus for whom the Great Moghul had a very high regard. The *Mirāt-i-Jahān* shows that the stoppage of animal slaughter was due to the teaching of Harirajya Sidi on whom Akbar had conferred the grand title of *Jagad-guru* or the Preceptor of the World. The *Adhvaryu* temple on the holy hill of Aśvatthya near Fathpur in Kābilpur has a long Sanskrit inscription written on its walls which compares the piety of the Jain monk with that of Akbar and may well be referred to for knowing what the Great Moghul did under the noble influence of the Jain monks. Vincent Smith has rightly remarked that "Akbar's abstinence in abstaining almost wholly from eating meat and in among stringent prohibitions, resembling those of *Aśoka* retreating to the remotest limits the destruction of life, certainly was taken in obedience to the doctrine of his Jain teachers." The conclusion of the commentary on the *Kāśikā* would show that Akbar read the *Sāhyasūtra-sūtra* with Bala-chandra, whom Harirajya Sidi had left behind after his famous visit to Akbar. Śaṅkha-chandra the joint author of the said commentary, and a disciple of Bala-chandra, was another teacher of the Great Moghul."

In the preceding chapter we have already dealt at length with

Akbar's relations with the Jains from whom
The Christians.

he desired to know the truth of Christianity. Badkash accuses Akbar of adopting the Cross "and other childish playthings of them." Smith says, "The contribution made to the

1. *Indica*, op. cit., p. 204.

2. "Akbar as a Sun-Worshipper," *The Indian Historical Quarterly* (Calcutta, March, 1927) pp. 127-40. Also read "Jainism under Muslim Rule", by K. P. Jain, in the *New Indian Antiquary*, 2, 4, pp. 124-26.

debate, by Christian disputants was an important factor among the factors which led Alder to renounce (?) the Muslim religion.¹ But if the Fathers expected to have in Alder an impartial convert to their religion they were sadly miscalculating. Yet, we cannot agree with South when he declares, "Probably Alder was never perfectly sincere when he used expressions implying belief in the Christian religion. It may be true that he preferred it, on the whole, to any other religion, but . . . his interest lay chiefly in the study of the subject now called 'Comparative religion,' and was prompted by intellectual curiosity rather than by an avowed missionary."² He is wrong the truth when he says, "He went so far as to believe in each religion that different people had reasonable ground for asserting him to be a Zoroastrian, a Hindu, a Jew, or a Christian. Nevertheless, he could not bring himself to accept finally any one of the four creeds, however much he might admire certain doctrines of each, or even practice some parts of the ritual of all four."³

Alder's interest in religion was deeper than the mere 'intellectual curiosity' of a student of 'Comparative Religion.' In 1871 (May), then in his thirty-sixth year, Alder suddenly awakened from a great lust on the Indian, for which he had made elaborate arrangements, when in the month of April Fusi, 'a soldier for two years previous of his bodily frame, the attraction of the cognitive of God cast its ray.' This strange experience is confirmed by Eastwell who writes, "suddenly, all at once, a strange state and strong frenzy came upon the Emperor, and an extraordinary change was manifested in his manner to such an extent as cannot be accounted for. And every one attributed it to some cause or other; but God alone knoweth more. And at that time he ordered the hunting to be abandoned. 'Thine eyes; for the Grace of God comes suddenly. It comes suddenly, it comes to the mind of the wise.'"⁴

South in his comments on this peculiar incident is characteristically sceptical (cynical?).

1 South, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 188-9.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 188. Also read "Christianity at the Courts of Akbar and Jahangir" by E. F. Allard, in *E. H. R.*, LII, 2 (1888), and C. H. L., IV, pp. 124-5.

4 Quoted by South, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-9.

"His (Akbar) gave vent to his religious emotion by the fantastic *frank* of filling the *Audialao* tank in the palace at Fatehpur-Sikr with a vast mass of coin, amounting, it is said, ten millions of rupees in value, which he subsequently distributed."

"That is all we know about the mysterious occurrence. The information is *circulating* in its meagreness, but probably never gave any fully intelligible account of the spiritual storm which swept through him as he sat or lay under the tree. *Perhaps he slept and had a dream, or, as seems to be more likely, he may have had an epiphany fit*" (?) He is perhaps nearer the mark when he guesses, "No man can tell exactly what happened. . . . when the Dargah, he was '*hai meri dil romani di meri aisi*,' " in the middle of his path," and, like the poet, saw a vision, *beholding things that cannot be uttered*"

Akbar was by nature a mystic, who sought earnestly, like his Sufi friends, to attain the ineffable bliss of direct contact with the Divine Reality—He was not an ordinary man, and his singular nature, like that of St. Paul, Mahomet, Dante, and other great men with a tendency to mysticism, *present perplexing problems*!

Such a nature could hardly escape from the liberal reaction of the Hindus who surrounded him like the very air he breathed. His policy towards the

The Hindus. The most martial section of the Hindus, has already been commented upon. He took to himself Hindu views as symbolic of the intimate union he wished to cultivate between the two largest sections of his subjects. He created Rājā Mīn Singh Bhagwan Dās, Bīr Bāl, and Todar Māl to the highest ranks given to any noble in the realm. He adopted Hindu dress and religious symbolism to such an extent as to compromise and scandalize orthodox Muslims like Badkhalī. To his other designs he set Badkhalī the task of translating into Persian the sacred books of the infidels like the *Mahabharat*.¹ "The killing of animals on certain days was forbidden, as on Sundays, because this day is sacred to the Sun . . . to please the Hindus. . . . His Majesty abstained altogether from meat, as a religious penance, gradually extending the several fasts during a year over six months and even more, with the view of eventually

1. Ibid., pp. 187-88.

2. Read "Sanatani Scholars of Akbar's Time" D. C. Chattacharya, in the I. R. Q. XIII, 1, 1887.

discontinuing the use of most allegories. . . . His Majesty had also the Sanskrit and two Sanskrit names of the Sun collected, and read them daily, devoutly turning to the Sun (like the Hindûs worshiping *Āditya*). . . . He also adopted several other practices connected with the Sun-worship. He used to wear the Hindû mark on his forehead, and ordered the band to play at mid-night, and at break of day. . . . Once a year also during a night, called *Śivratā*, a great meeting was held of all Japs of the Empire, when the Emperor ate, and drank with the principal Japs, who promised him that he should live three and four times as long as ordinary men. . . . Churning, churning *Brāhmanas* . . . told the Emperor that he was an incarnation (avatar), like Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, and other infatigable Kings. In order to flatter him, they also brought Sanskrit verses, said to have been taken from the poems of ancient sages, in which it was predicted that a great conqueror would rise in India, who would banish *Brāhmanas*, and cows, and govern the earth with justice. They also wrote like sentences on red-looking paper, and showed it to the Emperor, who believed every word of it.¹

SAUR KARTAVIRYA OF AJMER

To refresh the view of Ajmer hovers presented, we might close this brief study of Ajmer with a few well-known episodes and estimates of his character and accomplishments.

Jaladigvijayācharya: "My father always associated with the learned of every creed and religion : especially the Brahmins and the learned of India, and although he was Khemka, so much became clear to him through constant intercourse with the learned and wise, in his conversation with them, that he was aware how to be different, and he was so well-acquainted with the theories of some and great compositions, that his deficiency was not thought of."

"Notwithstanding his kingdom, his treasures and his hoarded wealth and great computation, his fighting elephants and Arab horses, he never by a hair's breadth placed his foot beyond the bars of humility before the throne of God, and never for one moment forgot him. He associated with the good of every race and creed and persuasion and was gracious to all in accordance with their conditions and understanding."

"He passed his nights in wakefulness, and slept little in the day; the length of his sleep during a whole night and day was not

¹ Buchanan, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-1.

more than a watch and a half. He counted his usefulness, at night as so much added to his life.

Col. Maitland : " Akbar's great idea was the union of all India under one head. . . . His code was the grandest of codes for a ruler, for the founder of an empire. They were the principles by accepting which his wisest successors sustained it at the present day. Certainly, though his European contemporaries were the most ardent of their respective countries (Elizabeth in England and Henry IV in France), he need not shrink from comparison even with those whose reputation is built upon deeds which lived after him. . . . The foundations dug by Akbar were so deep that his son, although so unlike him, was able to maintain the Empire which the principles of his father had welded together.

" When we reflect what he did, the age in which he did it, the method he introduced to accomplish it, we are bound to recognise in Akbar one of those illustrious men whom Providence sends in the hour of a nation's trouble, to reconvert it into those paths of peace and toleration which alone can ensure the happiness of millions." (Akbar, pp. 196, 199-200).

Stanley Lane-Poole : " The noblest king that ever ruled in India " (p. 353). " The true founder and organizer of the Empire " " Represents the golden age of the Moghul Empire " (p. 230) " Assimilation of the Hindu caste was the most conspicuous feature of Akbar's reign". . . . " The remarkable points about this expansion . . . were, first, that it was done with the willing help of the Hindu princes, and secondly, that expansion went hand-in-hand with orderly administration. This was a new thing in Indian government for hitherto the local officials had done pretty much as it pleased them, and the central authority had seldom interfered so long as the revenue did not suffer. Akbar allowed no opposition—if he knew of it—by his lieutenants, and not a few of his campaigns were undertaken merely for the purpose of punishing governors who had been guilty of self-seeking and rebellion. Much of the improvement was due to his employment of Hindus, who at the time were better men of business than the uneducated and mercenary adventurers who formed a large proportion of the Muhammadan invaders (pp. 239-60).

" There is no name in medieval history more renowned in India at the present day than that of Taimur Mal, and the reason is that

nothing in Akbar's reforms more nearly touched the welfare of the people than the great financial reconstruction of the revenue system" (p. 344). "Todar Mal's order (to keep all accounts in Persian), and Akbar's generous policy of allowing Hindus to compete for the highest honors,—Jila Singh was the first commander of 1,000—explain two facts: First, that before the end of the eighteenth century the Hindus had almost become the Persian teachers of the Muhammadans; secondly, that a new dialect could arise in India, the Urdu, which, without the Hindus as conveying medium, could never have been called into existence." (*Medieval India*, pp. 295-98).

Edmunds and Garrett. "Akbar has proved his worth in different fields of action. He was an intrepid soldier, a great general, a wise administrator, a benevolent ruler, and a sound judge of character. He was a born leader of men and can rightly claim to be one of the mightiest sovereigns known to history. . . . During a reign of nearly fifty years, he built up a powerful Empire which could vie with the strongest, and established a dynasty whose hold over India was not contested by any rival for about a century. His reign witnessed the final transformation of the Muslims from mere military invaders into a permanent Indian dynasty" (*Mughal Rule in India*, p. 53).

Vincent Smith: "The practical ability displayed by Akbar as a soldier, general, administrator, diplomatist, and supreme ruler has been shown abundantly by his whole history and does not need further exposition. The personal force of his character, discernible even now with sufficient clearness, was overpowering to his contemporaries . . .

'He was a born king of men, with a rightful claim to be one of the mightiest sovereigns known to history. That claim rests partly on the basis of his extraordinary natural gifts, his original ideas, and his magnificent achievements' (*Akbar the Great Mogul*, pp. 322-3).

Julian Fournier: "Dr. Vincent Smith, relying upon Josiah Warren, dwells upon Akbar's artfulness and duplicity in statecraft, and speaks of his 'tormenting diplomacy and perfidious action.' Dr. Smith forgets that Akbar's great contemporary Elizabeth had shamelessly, and Green goes so far as to assert that as the politeness and readiness of her Tea she stood without a peer in Christendom.

The vice methods and intrigues of other monarchs in France, Spain and elsewhere are too well known to need mention. Akbar was undoubtedly superior to his contemporaries both in intellect and character, and his policy was far more humane than theirs. Against the few acts of inhumanity and breach of faith attributed to him by Dr. Smith it is possible to mention a hundred deeds of generosity and benevolence. *Arrogant and impartial research by scholars has concluded and agreed Akbar to have been in many respects a greater man than his European contemporaries.*

(*A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, pp. 486-7.)

Luttwake Bampton says: "His greater achievement as a ruler was to weld this collection of different states, different races, different religions, into a whole. It was accomplished by elaborate organisation,—Akbar had an extraordinary genius for detail and more by the sagged policy which permeated his subjects of the justice of their ruler. Through a foreigner, he identified himself with the India he had conquered. And much of his system was to be permanent. The principles and practice worked out by Akbar and his ministers were largely adopted into the English system of government" (pp. 8-9).

"There is something engaging in Akbar's faults and weaknesses which were not petty, but rather belonged to the things which made him great. He was above all things human." (Akbar, p. 220).

He also thinks Smith "curiously unfair to his hero." *The Times Literary Supplement*, June 9, 1932, p. 414, reviewing Bampton's interesting study of Akbar, wrote of "Akbar's religious attitude on which our estimate of his character largely depends." "In this particular Mr. Bampton goes near indeed to the truth. He shows the great Emperor as liable from time to time to be overwhelmed by a sense of the emptiness of life, by a strong desire to find some sure abiding place, but seeking it in vain. Restlessly he turns from sect to sect in the faiths in which he was reared. Finding no satisfaction in their dialectic, he summons the teachers of every religion before his cell. Jew and Piri, Brahman and Jesuit, each is bowed with attention and respect; but for one reason or another each fails to hold the Emperor. The Brahman is too subtle for his practical mind; the Jesuit demands an obedience which he cannot give; the Piri attracts him most and he finds a ghostly comfort in that one-sidedness. Those who have seen in Akbar's religious search a mere political striving for a faith in which his people might be united have

scarcely seen but the surface of the truth, and have not penetrated, as Mr. Stiles does, to the very heart!"

K. T. Stiles: "After was the greatest of the Maharajahs and perhaps the greatest of all Indian rulers for a thousand years, if not ever since the days of the mighty Mauryas. But, without detracting in the least from the genius of the man or the inheritance of his birth it may yet be said that Akbar was so great, because he was so thoroughly Indianized. His genius perceived the possibilities, and his courage undertook the task, of welding the two communities into a common Nation by the universal bond of common service and equal citizenship of a magnificent Empire. Akbar was a born master of men, and bred an autocrat in an age of despotism. It would be unjust to criticize him by the canon of another age, or from the standpoint of other states. Within the legitimate limits of a most searching criticism, there is much—very much indeed,—on his life and outlook and achievements which merit deserved our unstinted, unqualified admiration, and little that could merit just censure."

(*The Spindler that was Bent*, p. 30)

E. B. Merrill: "Akbar has shared the fate of all great reformers in having his personal character unjustly assailed, his motives misapprehended, and his actions distorted, upon evidence which hardly bears judicial examination. . . . He was neither an ascetic nor a saint of the conventional type; but few of the great rulers of the earth can show a better record for deeds of righteousness, or more honorably and consistently maintained their ideals of religious life devoted to the service of humanity. In the western sense his mission was political rather than religious, but in his endeavours to realize the highest religious principles the motive power of State policy he won an unimpeachable name in Indian history and lifted the political ethics of India into a higher plane than they had ever reached before."

"It does not detract from his greatness as a man and ruler that his achievements fell short of his ideals—that the *Din-i-Ilahi* did not accomplish the spiritual regeneration of the ruling classes or wipe off the slate all the records of past misdeeds and misgovernment, and that his schemes did not entrench a full recognition of the ancient Aryan system of self-government upon which the economic strength and political greatness of India stood firm longer than has been the case with any other Empire in the world. But Akbar's endeavours to realize the Aryan ideal are still worthy of emulation both by British

religion of India, and by all statesmen for whom politics is a religion rather than a game of craft and skill."

(*Aryas in India*, pp. 336-7.)

Sir Whistley Stung : 'The Age of Akbar has been described as an age of great rulers, and some hold that of his contemporaries, Elizabeth of England, Henry IV of France, and Philip the Great of Spain, he was not the least. Some have written of him as though he were no less than what his enemies alleged he pretended to be. But with all his faults, and they were neither few nor small, he was by far the greatest of all who ruled India during the era of the dominancy of Islam in that land. A foreigner in blood though he happened to have been born an Indian, still he was the only one of the long line of rulers professing Islam who ever conceived the idea of becoming the father of all his subjects, rather than the leader of a militant and dominant minority, alien in both race and to a great extent in race, to the natives of India. . . .

'In spite of his ill-health he was far from being unlearned; war was his earliest avocation, for he delighted in listening to the reading of works of history, theology, philosophy and other subjects, and of discussing afterwards what had been read, and his memory was such that he acquired through the ear a stock of learning as great as that which most of his associates could acquire through the eye. The Jesuits at his court were probably not biased in his favour, but one of them thus describes him :

'Indeed he was a great king, for he knew that the good ruler is he who can command simultaneously, the affection, the respect, the love, and the fear of his subjects. He was a prince beloved of all, firm with the great, kind to those of low estate, and just to all men, high and low, neighbour or stranger, Christian, Saracen, or Gentile, so that every man believed that the King was on his side. He lived in the fear of God, to whom he never failed to pay four times daily, at sunrise, at sunset, at mid-day, and at mid-night and despite his many duties, his prayers on these four occasions which were of considerable duration, were never curtailed. Towards his followers he was kind and forbearing, even to taking life, and quick to show mercy. Hence it was that he decreed that if he pronounced anyone to death, the sentence was not to be carried into effect until the receipt of his third order. He was always glad to pardon an offender, if just grounds for doing so could be shown.'

(*The Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp. 152-53.)

Lord Pausanias. Last, but not least, Thompson's charming ode to the "Athenian Dream" sums up the best of Akbar in a nutshell. A few significant verses from it may be given with profit: "His tender sense of religion," writes the anonymous editor of the poet's works, "and his adherence of religious precept, put out Takers to shame . . . and his legislation was remarkable for equity, justice, and humanity."

Akbar to Mrs. Paul

[Before the rising of Fortunate Isles at night.]

My noble blood, my lasting ^{But none} ~~ambition~~,
 Sit by my side while thou art yet such free,
 I seek no longer for a lonely one . . .
 In the King's garden, gathering here and there
 From verdant plots the Mouserechoon grows
 To make a crown not only for the King,
 But in due time for Thyri, Mandana,
 Bekham, and Boddies, Chisam and Phos,
 That all the warring world of Hindostan

Look how the living pulse of All beats
 That of His world. If every single star
 Should drink its claim: "I only am in heaven,"
 Why that vast web of splendour as the Giant
 Had hardly drawn'd it. There is light in all,
 And light, with more or less of shade in all.

I have the narrow of their space and needs,
 I let them dwell as they will, I reap
 No revenue from the field of unshod,
 I call from every hill and race the best
 And trainest and for mountain and forest

The Chisam own a Spiritual Host;
 And following thy true word by thine old
 Myself am such as our hills, be no
 Mirrors of glory, but for power to bear
 My symbols into calm order out;
 To show the sign of oppression out
 From office; and to spread the Dream Faith
 Like railway all on all their wrong roads,
 And fill the hollow between mine and mine
 To weave my children on the web of Truth.

And when the old waves into the gold
Of Love, and make it current, and sent back
The evening pages of adolescent poems,
Those whom you set up their heads—
One (H) : One (Kishida) :¹⁴

Read, "A Sôchichi on Akiba's Genoa," in *The Modern Japanese Journal* Vol. III, 1 (1924).

